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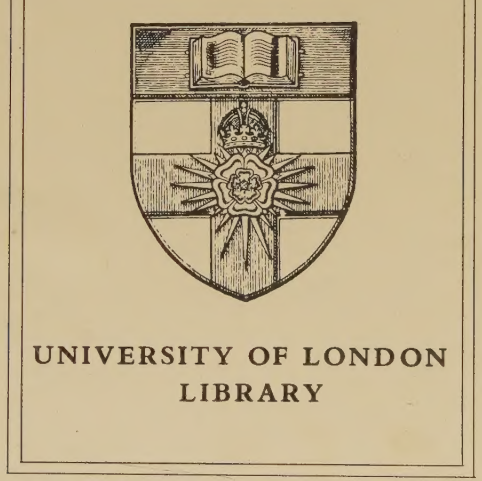

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PAESTAN ADDENDA

(Plates I—VII)

Since the publication of my Supplement to *Paestan Pottery* and the short Postscript covering the finds of 1952,[1] some 300 new red-figured vases have come to light as a result of further excavations by Dr. P. C. Sestieri at Paestum in the area around the so-called Basilica and the Temple of Poseidon and of the systematic opening up of the huge fourth century necropoleis to the south of the city at Fuscillo, Spinazzo and Tempa del Prete and to the north in the Contrade Arcioni, Andriuolo, Laghetto and Gaudo.[2] Some of these sites have yielded painted tombs[3] of the highest importance for our knowledge of fourth-century painting and for the parallels they offer in both subject and style to contemporary vase decoration, and the quantity of pottery they have produced increases more than fivefold the number of vases of certain Paestan provenience and establishes beyond question the location of this fabric at Paestum. Most of the vases belong either to the workshop of Asteas and Python or to the later workshops of the Painters of Naples 1778 and 2585, but one completely new artist—the Floral Painter—has emerged, as well as a good deal more in the Apulianising style of the end of the fourth century, the existence of which was first noted as a result of the finds in 1952.

It is interesting to note that no vases of the Early Paestan style (Dirce Painter and followers) have so far been discovered, and, as this group will be dealt with in detail in my forthcoming book on Campanian vase-painting, I have not included it in the lists which follow. The Caivano Group is also excluded for the same reason, although several vases in a very similar style by a new artist, who will be named the Laghetto Painter, have been found in the recent excavations (see below p. 26). Some vases by the Painter of B.M. F63—a close follower of the Errera Painter—have also come to light, as well as a few from the workshop of the CA Painter, especially in the rather fine style which influenced the Manfria Painter in Sicily.[4] The new finds further illustrate the extremely close inter-relationship between Campanian (particularly the schools of the Errera and CA Painters) and Paestan during the third quarter of the fourth century.

The lists which follow incorporate the new finds catalogued in *Paestan Postscript* (referred to as *PP-s*) and include all the new vases found at Paestum during the excavations of 1953–58, together with some others which have recently been discovered at Pontecagnano near Salerno or which have come to light in various museums and private collections. Once again it is a pleasure to express my grateful thanks to Dr. P. C. Sestieri, the Superintendent of Antiquities at Salerno, for his never-failing kindness and generosity in making all the new material accessible to me under such favourable conditions, and also to Dr. D. von Bothmer of the Metro-

[1] *BSR* XX, 1952, pp. 1–53 and XXI, 1953, pp. 160–167.

[2] For some account of these excavations see in particular Van Buren, *AJA* 1954, pp. 325–6; 1955, p. 306; 1956, pp. 391–2; 1958, pp. 418–420; Neutsch, *AA* 1956, cols. 373 ff.; Trendall, *Arch. Reps. 1955* (*JHS* 1956, Suppl.), pp. 56–58 and *Arch. Reps. 1957*, pp. 35–38; Sestieri, *FA* VIII, 1956, no. 1710, pp. 129–131; IX, 1956, no. 2936, pp. 217–219; X, 1957, no. 2592, pp. 213–215.

[3] Sestieri, *Riv. Ist. Arch.* n.s. V–VI, 1956–7, pp. 65–110.

[4] See Adamesteanu, "Vasi figurati di Manfria" in *Scritti in Onore di G. Libertini*, pp. 24–34, and particularly the vases illustrated on pls. 1–4, figs. 1–7; also *NdS* 1958, pp. 311–316.

politan Museum of New York, who has brought to my notice a number of vases in the lesser known museums or in private collections in England, France and America, and has often supplied me with details or photographs of them. I am also deeply indebted to Professor H. R. W. Smith for his kindness in informing me about the Paestan vases in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires and for his generosity in allowing me to include them in my catalogue in advance of his own publication. An asterisk is placed beside the vases illustrated on Plates I–VII; the NF numbers of those vases already listed in *Paestan Post-script* are added in brackets after the new serial numbers.

I. THE WORKSHOP OF ASTEAS AND PYTHON

It is clear from the wealth of new material that has just come to light that Asteas must have been the chief painter in a large workshop which included Python, the Altavilla Painter and a few minor artists, whose works have been grouped together in the lists which follow. The style is extremely uniform throughout and it is not always easy to distinguish one painter from another (see *PPSupp*, pp. 26 ff.).

(i) Asteas

Calyx-kraters

*A1. **Lipari** inv. 927, from T.367. Ht. 39·7. Pl. I, *a*, *b*, *c*. (*a*) Dionysus watching a female tumbler, with two phlyakes looking on, and two women watching from windows above; (*b*) maenad and silen.

AA 1954, cols. 513–4; *Arch. Reps. 1955* (*JHS* 1956 Suppl.), p. 48; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier, *Il Castello di Lipari*, pl. 27; Bernabò Brea, *Musei e Monumenti in Sicilia*, p. 79 (detail in colour); Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 74, pl. 3, *e*.

One of the most important of the new vases. Both the seated figure of Dionysus and the two phlyakes are very much in the manner of Asteas, as is the treatment of the stage and of the women in the windows above. The reverse is badly preserved and most of the upper part of the maenad is missing, but the silen should be compared with the one on Taranto 52420 (*PPSupp* no. 43, pl. 5, *c*) which, like this vase, is an early piece.

A2. **Gela,** Museo Nazionale, from Gela (fragments). (*a*) Old phlyax beside a door, seated phlyax on altar; below, a curtained stage; (*b*) missing.

Orlandini, *Boll.d'Arte* 1953, p. 156, figs. 3–4; *AA* 1954, col. 659, fig. 111; *PP-s* p. 165, no. 44 bis; *NdS* 1956, p. 267, fig. 4; *Arch. Class.* 1957, p. 68, pl. 35; Griffo, *Sulle orme della civiltà gelese*, pl. 26; Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 71; *EAA* II, p. 347, fig. 501 (detail).

Squat lekythos

A3. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.2. Ht. 47. The Purification of Orestes at Delphi. Sestieri, *Boll. d'Arte* XLIII, 1958, pp. 57 ff., figs. 23–25; Trendall, *Arch. Reps. 1957*, p. 37, fig. 12; Van Buren, *AJA* 1958, p. 420, pl. 113, figs. 9–10; Sestieri, *Dioniso* XXII, 1959, pp. 45 ff. figs. 3–5.

This vase and the cup which follows were found together with a fish plate (A202), some plain ware, bronze armour and other objects in May 1957 in a chamber tomb in the Contrada Gaudo, about a kilometre north of Paestum. In size, decoration and style it stands extremely close to the signed Hesperides lekythos in Naples (2873; *PP*, pl. 4, *PPSupp* no. 42) and there can be little doubt over its ascription to Asteas. The scene is shown in unusual detail and all the figures bear their names inscribed above them. In the centre seated upon the altar with drawn sword is Orestes (ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ); to left Apollo (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) with a laurel-branch in his left hand holds a white piglet above him[5]; to right stands Artemis (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ) dressed in an elaborate costume with a red cloak and holding a spear and a bow, with a white hound beside her. Above Orestes are the serpent-entwined busts of two Furies (ΤΕΙΣΙΦΟΝΗ and ΜΕΓΑΙΡΑ). To left of Apollo stands a royally draped woman wearing a stephane and holding a sceptre in her right hand and a phiale in her left. She is Leto (ΛΑΤΩ) and since she bears some resemblance to the unidentified bust in the top left-hand corner of Python's Orestes krater in the British Museum (*PP*, pl. 17), we may now possibly recognise this as also representing the mother of Apollo. To the extreme right stands the white-haired priestess of the temple (ΜΑΝΤΩ) holding a wreath in one hand and a phiale with a white fillet in the other.

[5] Cf. Louvre K710—FR, pl. 120.

Stemless Cup

A4. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.2. Ht. 5·5, diam. 34 (26·5). White-fleshed woman seated between small standing Eros and woman leaning against laver. In the exergue: thrush with worm in its mouth. *Boll. d'Arte* 1958, pp. 59 f., fig. 26; *Arch. Reps. 1957*, p. 36, fig. 11.

This cup is of particular interest for its style; white flesh is rare on Paestan vases at this period and gives to this one an unusually colourful effect. The black chiton with the red border and stripe finds several parallels on vases from the Asteas-Python workshop (notably A10 below); the chequer border to the cloak and the "early bird" with its worm also occur on several other vases of this group. The style of the drawing seems to me nearer to that of Asteas than Python and, in view of the fact that the cup was found together with another of his vases, I think it may well be ascribed to his hand.

Bell-kraters

A5. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 30. (*a*) Dionysus and bearded silen; (*b*) two draped youths. The himatia of the youths have plain borders and they stand very close to those on the reverse of Giudice 193 (*PP*, pl. X, *c*; *PPSupp* no. 56), now in the Agrigento Museum.

A6. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 33. (*a*) Papposilen holding up small kylix in front of seated Dionysus; (*b*) two draped youths. *Arch. Reps. 1957*, p. 38, fig. 13. The youths on the reverse may be compared with those on Madrid 11060 (*PPSupp* no. 47) and B.M. F152–3 (*PPSupp* nos. 48 and 54).

A7. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 30·5. (*a*) Scene from a phlyax play—a lyre-player inscribed ΦΡΥΝΙΣ struggles with a white-haired man named ΠΥΡΩΝΙΔΗΣ; to left a small Maltese dog; (*b*) two draped youths, wearing himatia with plain borders and white wreaths. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, p. 12, no. 55.

The framing palmettes are similar to those on the Rancate krater (A11), and the vase is near in style to the Altavilla Painter, but the rendering of the phlyakes and the use of added colour is typical of Asteas. The inscriptions are painted on in white. Phrynis was a celebrated musician of the later fifth century (cp. *RE* XX, 925–8; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 971; Pherecrates, *Chiron* fr. 145—Edmonds, *Attic Comedy* I, p. 263) and we may here have a comic version of his quarrel with the Spartan ephor over his musical innovations (Plutarch, *Agis* 10, 7). Pyronides seems also to have been used as a nickname for the general Myronides, cp. Edmonds, *op. cit.*, p. 96, n. 5, and p. 360, n. 4.

Lebetes gamikoi

A8. (NF 1). **Paestum,** Case 33, from the area of the temple of Poseidon, *Loc.* IV. Ht. 28. (*a*) Judgment of Paris—Hera standing to left of Paris who is seated on an Ionic capital with his dog beside him, while Hermes with winged sandals, petasos, and caduceus stands to right; (*b*) seated woman and Eros. On the shoulder are white palmettes; on the small *lebetes* attached to it, white heads. *PP-s*, p. 160; *AJA* 1953, p. 214; Sestieri, *Arch. Class.* 1955, pp. 1–8, pls. 1–4.

A9. (NF 2). **Paestum,** fragment in the basement, found to the north of *Loc.* IV. Two women standing beside a white laver. On the shoulder, white palmettes. For style, cf. Naples 2878 (*PP*, pl. XI, *b*). *PP-s*, p. 160.

Fragments (probably from an amphora)

A10. (NF 3). **Paestum,** fragments in Case 44, from Temple B in the Temenos and from the area west of *Loc.* IV. (*a*) Woman wearing a black chiton with a red border, and Eros beside a white Ionic column; (*b*) figure with black chiton and foot on base of column to left; youth with spear, chlamys and a red fillet; head of woman. *PP-s*, p. 160.

For the black chiton cp. A4 above, and the neck-amphora in Nocera (*PPSupp* no. 133 bis).

(ii) The Asteas Group

(*a*) *The Altavilla Painter*

Bell-kraters

*A11. **Rancate** (Switzerland), Züst Coll. Pl. II, *a*, *b*. (*a*) Old silen offers an egg to Dionysus; (*b*) two draped youths.

The reverse figures are very close to those on Madrid 11037 (*PPSupp* no. 66), especially the youth to left. The simple form of side palmette, still attached to the fan below the handles, shows this to be an early vase. It stands also in very close relation to the style of Asteas, cp. the silen with that on the krater from Pontecagnano (A6 above).

A12. **Naples.** (*a*) Satyr and Dionysus seated upon a palmette; (*b*) two draped youths, with plain-bordered himatia.

A13. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Oliveto Citra. Ht. 36·5. Recomposed from fragments. (*a*) Pan dancing in front of Dionysus playing the flute; (*b*) two draped youths with plain-bordered himatia, as on Dublin 510–1880 (*PPSupp* no. 67, pl. 7, *a*).

A14. **Nostell Priory** 19. Ht. 29. (*a*) Dionysus seated on tendril with bird and phiale, young satyr with thyrsus; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP-s*, no. 73 bis.

*A15. **Plymouth,** City Museum. Ht. 33·75. Pl. II, *c* (*a*) Dionysus and young satyr; (*b*) two draped youths. Very closely related in style to Oxford 1942.293 and Cambridge 43.7 (*PPSupp*. nos. 69–70, pl. 8).

*A16. **Woburn Abbey**, Duke of Bedford. Ht. 37. Pl. II, *d* (*a*) Silen brings offerings to seated Dionysus; (*b*) two draped youths. The youths on the reverse are close to those on the reverse of the preceding vase and the other two mentioned above. *AJA* LXIII, 1959, p. 348.

*A17. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 30·5. Pl. III *a*, *b*. (*a*) Bearded silen with flute resting his hands on the knee of seated Dionysus holding kylix and thyrsus; (*b*) two draped youths. *Arch. Reps. 1957*, p. 38.

The himation of the youth to left on the reverse has a plain border, the other is dotted; in style they resemble the youths on the reverse of A11 and Madrid 11037. Similar combinations of himatia with plain and dotted borders will be found on Dublin 505–1880 (*PPSupp* no. 68, pl. 7, *b*) and a neck-amphora in Salerno (*PPSupp* no. 80, pl. 10, *b*). Near in style to Asteas.

A18. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 30·5. (*a*) Actor dressed as pappo-silen in front of seated Dionysus holding kantharos; (*b*) youth and woman.

*A19. **Woburn Abbey,** Duke of Bedford. Ht. 38·8. Pl. III, *c*, *d*. (*a*) Dionysus and young satyr with torch, (*b*) two draped youths. *AJA* LXIII, 1959, p. 348.

A20. **Leeuwarden,** A.C. Beeling. Ht. 36. (*a*) Young satyr with foot raised holds out wreath to draped woman, holding a fillet in left hand; (*b*) two draped youths.

A21. **Leiden** K1957/2.1. Ht. 34. (*a*) Dionysus running to right with burning torch, (*b*) young satyr.

Calyx-krater

*A22. **Paestum,** Contrada Laghetto, T.64. Ht. 30. Pl. IV, *a*. (*a*) Woman with mirror and silen with skewer of fruit at laver; (*b*) two draped youths. *Boll. d'Arte* 1956, pp. 71–73, figs. 1–3; *FA* X, no. 2952, p. 217, fig. 70; *Oud. Med.* XL, 1959, p. 19, pl. 9. Very near also to Python, but the drapery of the youths on the reverse suggests that it is better placed here (cp. *PPSupp* no. 72, pl. 9, *d* and no. 79, pl. 10, *a*).

Neck-amphorae

A23. **Nocera**, Raccolta Fienga 554. Ht. 29. (*a*) Youth and draped woman; (*b*) nude youth with thyrsus between two altars. *PP-s* no. 86 ter.

A24. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.11. Ht. 44·7. (*a*) Nude youth with fillet and stick, draped woman with wreath, (*b*) nude youth with foot raised on rock-pile. Neck : (*a*) and (*b*) female head in sphendone. Late : cp. the neck-amphorae in Salerno (*PPSupp* nos. 79–80).

Hydria

A25. **San Simeon,** Hearst Estate 5434 (PC 7580). Ht. 34·5. Woman with mirror, Dionysus with thyrsus and egg, seated Eros with cista and wreath. Below handles : female heads.

Closely connected in style with Madrid 11137–8 (*PPSupp* nos. 87–8), and with the Mainz lekythos (A26). Characteristic of this group is the use of a white line running down the middle of the black dotted-edged stripe in the centre of the peplos (cp. also Paestum 5421, *PPSupp* no. 89 and Vienna 581, *ibid.* no. 112).

Squat lekythos

*A26. **Mainz**, RZGM O.29212. Ht. 32. Pl. VII, *a*. Eros and woman. Closely related to preceding vase; note the use of the white stripe.

Oenochoai

A27. **Milan** 261. Ht. 32. Satyr holding thyrsus, with foot raised on rock, and Dionysus with phiale.

A28. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.11. Ht. 25·5. Dionysus with dotty drapery over left arm, and satyr with torch running towards altar. Near to Asteas.

(*b*) *Other vases of this workshop closely related to the style of Asteas*

Hydriai

A29. (NF 4). **Paestum**, Case 33, from the area of the temple of Poseidon, *Loc.* IV. Ht. 45·5; recomposed from fragments. Youth with phiale and floral spray leaning against a white pillar, standing draped woman with mirror. Below the handles: large female heads. The main scene is framed between reserved bands with the typical Paestan palmettes beside the handles.

A30. (NF 5). **Paestum**, basement, from the area north of *Loc.* IV, level 11. Woman with wreath and phiale at altar, youth with drapery over his left shoulder.

A31. **Naples** 736 (inv. 82737). Ht. 21. Eros with phiale and mirror.

A32. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.2. Ht. 32. Draped woman holding open box with wreath, and youth wearing boots and chlamys and holding spear: between them a frontal owl with finely dotted feathers. Below handles: female head; head of youth in pilos. The mouths are large and open; in style this vase stands a little apart from the others in this group and seems to be the work of a new painter to whom as yet no other vases can be definitely assigned.

Lebetes gamikoi

A33. (NF 6). **Paestum,** Case 33, from the area of the temple of Poseidon, *Loc.* IV. Ht. 14; handles restored. (*a*) Nude woman seated on square pillar and holding out phiale; (*b*) Eros walking to left. Very early.

A34. (NF 7). **Paestum,** Case 33, from same area. Ht. 14·5; 19·5 with handles. (*a*) Youth leaning forward over raised foot, and standing draped woman with red fillet; (*b*) seated woman beside a laver, holding up a mirror; the lower part of her body is draped in a cloak with a dotted-stripe border. The scene on (*a*) is framed between reserved bands, with a triangular cross-piece in the top left-hand corner.

A35. (NF 8). **Paestum,** basement; fragments from the area north of *Loc.* IV, level 8. (*a*) Draped woman and woman wearing black drapery with a red border and a red head-band; (*b*) nude woman. Both scenes are framed between reserved bands.

A36. (NF 9). **Paestum,** Case 45, small fragment from the Greek building near the Temenos. Woman with red drapery pattened with white dots beside laver.

A37. **Paestum,** Contrada Andriuolo, T.47. Ht. 21. (*a*) Running woman with ball and cista; (*b*) nude youth with phiale and fruit by altar. Lid (? belonging): female heads.

Oenochoe (shape 2)

A38. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 32. Seated Dionysus and Eros.

A39. Once **Basle** market, Münzen und Medaillen. Ht. 34. (*a*) Dionysus and Pan, (*b*) two draped youths. *Sale Cat.* XIV, no. 88, pl. 22; Helbing-Fischer *Sale Cat.* 20–1 July 1922, pl. 26, no. 454. Crude style, like Reading 50.5.2 (*PPSupp* no. 99, pl. 6, *b*).

(iii) Python

Bell-kraters

A40. **Lucerne market—Ars Antiqua.** (*a*) Two banqueters playing cottabos on a couch beneath which is a small papposilen; (*b*) two draped youths.

This is an addition of considerable interest to the work of Python. The obverse is very close in style to Vatican AD 1 (*PPSupp* no. 148) and Tischbein II 52 (*PPSupp* no. 193). As on the Vatican Symposium krater added red is used for the cushions and the mattress, and there is a similar three-legged table with cakes beside the couch. The reverse is in the typical manner of Python (cp. Liverpool M10711, Sydney 49·09, Reading 51.7.11—*PPSupp* pls. 12–13); both youths wear himatia with dotted borders and the cloak on the left youth is so draped as to leave a V-shaped opening in front.

A41. **Nostell Priory** 18. Ht. 32. (*a*) Seated Dionysus and young satyr; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP-s* no. 177 bis.

A42. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 32. (*a*) Actaeon attacked by three hounds; (*b*) silen seated on rock with cista of offerings.

Hydria

*A43. **Paestum,** Contrada Andriuolo, T.7. Ht. 35·5. Pl. IV, *b*. Electra at the tomb between Pylades and Orestes. Below handles: female heads. *AJA* 1956, pl. 128, fig. 1; Sestieri, *Dioniso* XXII, 1959, p. 41, fig. 1.

Sestieri attributes this vase to Asteas, but the black drapery worn by Electra and the treatment of hair and drapery, as well as of the female heads below the handles, seems to me more in the manner of Python. For Electra cp. the woman wearing a similar black chiton and carrying a hydria on Hope 279 (*PPSupp* no. 180), now in the possession of C. E. Galt in Stockholm.

Neck-amphora

*A44. **Kassel** T646. Ht. 40. Pl. VI, *a*, *b*. (*a*) Youth with pilos and spear, and woman with fillet (Orestes and Electra?); (*b*) two draped youths. Cp. with Copenhagen 8377 (*PPSupp* no. 203), and with the preceding vase.

Lekane

A45. **Paestum,** Contrada Arcioni, T.2. Ht. 11, diam. 12. (*a*) Female head; (*b*) male head.

Squat lekythos

A46. **Paestum,** Contrada Laghetto, T.94. Ht. 24·5. Youth with cista and thyrsus. Cp. Boston 19.295 (*PPSupp* no. 206).

Hydria

A46 bis. **Buenos Aires,** University, Museo Etnografico 44. Ht. 23·1. Youth with drapery over left arm, holding phiale and fillet in right hand; altar to right.

Professor H. R. W. Smith, who kindly brought this vase to my notice, assigns it to the group of Python and "probably to his own hand".

Doubtful

Calyx-krater

A47. **Naples** 1983 (inv. 82259). Ht. 49. (*a*) Combat; (*b*) Dionysus between woman and bearded silen. *PP-s* p. 167; this vase has been almost completely repainted, but looks to be in the style of Python.

(iv) Minor Vases from the Asteas-Python Workshop

Bell-kraters

A48. **Naples** 781 (inv. 82601). Ht. 26. (*a*) Dionysus seated by altar; (*b*) youth moving to right.

A49. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 27. (*a*) Draped woman by altar; (*b*) silen with foot raised, holding skewer of fruit.

A50. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 24. (*a*) Draped woman with fillet; (*b*) satyr with foot raised, holding stick and fruits.

A51. **Warsaw** 147150. Ht. 26. (*a*) Seated half-draped woman with cista; (*b*) youth with thyrsus and skewer of fruit.

A52. **Naples**, Astarita Coll. 50. Ht. 23·5. (*a*) Papposilen with thyrsus and cista; hare to left; (*b*) nude youth with wreath and thyrsus at altar.

Hydriai

A53. **Nocera,** Raccolta Fienga 568. Ht. 21·5. Woman with ball and cista. Below handles: owls. *PP-s* no. 219 bis.

A54. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.47. Ht. 19·5. Youth with skewer of fruit and thyrsus.

A55. **Avignon,** Musée Calvet. Ht. 17·8. Nude youth with mirror and wreath leaning forward over right foot raised on tendril.

A56. **Palermo** 1251. Ht. 19. Seated woman with cista.

A57. **Tatefield Hall** (near Harrogate), Kent Coll. Female head. *AJA* LXIII, 1959, p. 346.

Kylix

A58. **Gela,** from Monte Saraceno (fr.). Diam. 12. Dancing phlyax and seated Dionysus. *Arch. Class.* 1956, pl. 31, 2; *FA* XI, no. 2827, pl. 13, fig. 45; Trendall, *Phlyax Vases* no. 136.

Stemless Cup

A59. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.10. Ht. 6·5, diam. 21·5. I. Seated half-draped women, and small nude youth standing in front of her with foot raised. Ext.: laurel. Late; moving in style towards Naples 1778.

Skyphoi

A60. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.7. Ht. 15·5. (*a*) Eros by laver; (*b*) half-draped woman with mirror seated by laver.

A61. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.5. Ht. 11·6, diam. 10·4. (*a*) Seated woman with mirror, phiale and spray; (*b*) female head in saccos.

A62. **Tatefield Hall** (near Harrogate), Kent Coll. 702. Ht. 25. (*a*) Youth leaning on pillar; (*b*) nude woman to left, with drapery around arms. *AJA* LXIII, 1959, p. 346.

A63. **Tatefield Hall** (near Harrogate), Kent Coll. 379. (*a*) Young satyr; (*b*) youth.

A64. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.11. Ht. 13·5. (*a*) Silen; (*b*) draped woman.

A65. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.11. Ht. 13·5. (*a*) Satyr; (*b*) youth with tambourine by altar.

Lebetes gamikoi

A66. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.10. Ht. 29·5. (*a*) Youth and woman at laver; (*b*) Eros at laver. Lid: (*a*) and (*b*) female head.

A67. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.2. Ht. 28. (*a*) Eros and seated woman with dish and mirror, (*b*) draped woman with mirror and cista by laver. Lid: (*a*) and (*b*) female head.

A67 bis. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.12. Ht. 29·5. (*a*) Seated woman with mirror and standing figure (mostly worn away); (*b*) seated woman with cista.

A68. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.7. Ht. 20. (*a*) Seated half-draped woman with cista and mirror; (*b*) Eros with phiale. Cp. Sydney 49·10 (*PPSupp* no. 211, pl. 14, *a*).

A69. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.25. Ht. 25. (*a*) Running Eros with wreath and phiale; (*b*) seated woman.

A70. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.22. Ht. 20. (*a*) Young satyr bending forward with fillet and a skewer of fruit; (*b*) draped woman seated on tendril.

A71. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.91. Ht. 14. (*a*) Seated woman with phiale; (*b*) running woman with phiale.

A72. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.8. Ht. 22·5 (badly preserved). (*a*) Nude youth with raised foot; (*b*) draped woman seated to right.

A73. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.10. Ht. 21·5. (*a*) Nude youth with thyrsus and drapery over fight arm; (*b*) half-draped woman seated on tendril.

A74. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.12. Ht. 22. (*a*) Nude youth by altar, with drapery over left arm; (*b*) seated half-draped woman.

A75. **Nostell Priory** 41. Ht. 14. (*a*) Seated youth with wreath and cista; (*b*) female head. *PP-s* no. 346 bis, where wrongly attributed to Boston Orestes Painter.

A76. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.23. Ht. 14·5. (*a*) Head of youth; (*b*) female head.

A77. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.46. Ht. 18. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head. Plain style.

A78. **Adolphseck,** Schloss Fasanerie, 171. Ht. 15. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head. *CVA* pl.75, 3.

A79. **Padula,** Museo Lucano, from T.18. Ht. 13. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

Lebes gamikos lids

A80. **Paestum,** from Fuscillo, T.14. Ht. 16. (*a*) Female head; (*b*) male head. White beaded stephane, with single row of white dots behind.

A81. (NF 10). **Paestum,** basement; from the area of the temple of Poseidon, *Loc.* IV, level 8. Ht. 12. Base—female heads; bowl—female heads.

A82. (NF 11). **Paestum,** basement; from same area. Ht. 9. Bowl—female heads.

A83. (NF 12). **Paestum,** basement; from same area. Ht. 8. Bowl—female heads.

Lekanai

A84. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.12. Ht. 17, int. diam. 17·5. (*a*) Seated half-draped woman with cista; (*b*) seated Eros with outspread wings.

A85. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.7. Ht. 15·7, int. diam. 17. (*a*) Eros seated with phiale; (*b*) nude woman seated with box, drapery over left arm.

A86. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.30. Ht. 21·5, int. diam. 24·5. (*a*) Half-draped woman seated with dish of offerings; (*b*) nude youth seated by altar.

A87. Once **Roman Market,** Benedetti. (*a*) Seated silen with skewer of fruit and cista; (*b*) dog with paw raised, beside altar.

A88. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.2. Ht. 12, int. diam. 11·5. (*a*) Nude youth stretched out; (*b*) thrush.

A89. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.64. Ht. 14, int. diam. 14·5. (*a*) Seated youth; (*b*) thrush.

A90. **Turin,** old no. 2810. Ht. 11·5, int. diam. 13·5. (*a*) Satyr; (*b*) thrush.

A91. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.8. Ht. 14·5, int. diam. 17. (*a*) Reclining youth with cista, fillet and spray; (*b*) thrush with worm. Late: moving on in style towards Naples 2585. *FA* 1953, p. 130, no. 1710, fig. 35.

A92. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.10. Ht. 15, int. diam. 15·5. (*a*) Siren; (*b*) panther.

Lekane lids

A93. (NF 13). **Paestum,** basement; from the area north of *Loc.* IV, level 10. Diam. 9·5. Lid only—female head: thrush.

A94. (NF 14). **Paestum,** basement; from the same area. Lid with knob—diam. 9·5; ht. 10. On knob: female heads.

A95. (NF 15). **Paestum,** basement; from the same area. Fragment of lid: female heads.

A96. (NF 16). **Paestum,** basement; from the same area, level 8. Diam. 9. Lid—female heads.

A97. (NF 17). **Paestum,** basement; from the same area. Small fragment of lid: thrush.

A98. (NF 18). **Paestum,** basement; from same area, level 11. Fragment of lid: seated woman with drapery over lower limbs. Late.

Squat lekythoi

A99. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.43. Ht. 22. Seated half-draped woman with skewer of fruit.

A100. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.22. Ht. 21. Half-draped woman seated on tendril with fillet and skewer of fruit.

A101. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.14a. Ht. 22. Half-draped woman seated to left; altar to right.

A102. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.42. Ht. 24. Seated draped woman by altar.

A103. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.5. Ht. 25·5. Draped woman standing by altar.

A104. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.5. Ht. 23. Youth seated on tendril with cista, fillet and thyrsus.

A105. **Paestum,** from Fuscillo (Contrada Visceglia), T.2. Ht. 19. Nude youth running with wreath and cista.

A106. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo B, T.20. Ht. 26·5. Running woman with phiale.

A107. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.3. Ht. 17. Head of bearded silen.

Neck-amphorae

A108. **Paestum,** basement (broken). (*a*) Seated youth; (*b*) draped woman. Neck: (*a*) female head; (*b*) palmette.

A109. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.29. Ht. 24. (*a*) Standing draped woman; (*b*) nude youth.

A110. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.10 (broken). (*a*) Nude youth; (*b*) draped woman.

A111. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.120, Ht. 43·5. (*a*) Nude youth with foot raised by altar; (*b*) seated woman with cista by altar. Cp. Paestum 1273 (*PPSupp* no. 139).

A112. **Narbonne** 60 (26). (*a*) Nude youth with dish of offerings, resting left arm on pillar; (*b*) draped woman.

A113. **Limoges** 7910. Ht. 21. (*a*) Nude youth with wreaths and thyrsus; (*b*) draped woman with wreath and dish of offerings.

A113 bis. **Rio de Janeiro,** Museu Nacional 1529. (*a*) Nude youth with thyrsus; (*b*) draped woman holding tambourine.

Gerhard and Panofka, *Neapels antike Bildwerke*, p. 358.

The attribution was made by Professor H. R. W. Smith; the style is typical of the minor works of the Asteas Group, and as on many other neck-amphorae of this class there are only large fan-palmettes below the handles.

*A114. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 22. Pl. VI, *c*. (*a*) Nude youth with skewer of fruit and thyrsus; (*b*) draped woman with dish of eggs.

A115. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.14. Ht. 21. (*a*) Young satyr; (*b*) draped woman. Badly fired; mostly turned to red.

A116. **Catania** 4327. Ht. 23. (*a*) Young satyr with thyrsus; (*b*) youth. *PP-s* no. 306 bis.

A117. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.10 (broken). (*a*) Eros; (*b*) draped woman.

A118. **Mainz,** RGZM O.9355. Ht. 24. (*a*) Youth with thyrsus and skewer of fruit; (*b*) nude youth with fillet.

*A119. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.8. Ht. 49·5. Pl. IV, *e*. (*a*) Dionysus and young satyr with torches; (*b*) running woman with thyrsus and phiale. Neck (*a*) and (*b*) : female head. Note the spiky stephane on the female heads, which relates this vase with the Spiky Stephane Head Group. Late and leading up to the style of Naples 2585.

Oenochoai (shape 3)

A120. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 27. Siren and youth seated on tendril.

A121. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.64. Ht. 18. Youth by altar, with drapery over eft arm.

A122. **Nostell Priory** 54. Ht. 16. Capering satyr with wreath and phiale. *PP-s* no. 319 bis.

A123. **Rennes.** Ht. 20. Dionysus holding thyrsus, standing with foot raised between two altars.

A123 bis. **Rio de Janeiro,** Museu Nacional 1488. Ht. 18·9. Seated Dionysus, holding skewer of fruit.

Oenochoe (broken)

A124. **Montpellier,** Musée Fabre 39.1678. Half-draped youth seated on altar, holding wreath and dish of eggs.

Pelikai

A125. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.2. Ht. 19·4. (*a*) Youth with thyrsus and skewer of fruit; (*b*) seated woman with mirror.

A126. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.11. Ht. 13·5. (*a*) Running woman with cista and mirror; (*b*) seated nude woman with mirror and cista.

A127. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.33. Ht. 14. (*a*) Seated draped woman; (*b*) seated nude youth with cista.

A128. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.10. Ht. 17. (*a*) Eros; (*b*) seated woman.

A129. **Nocera,** Raccolta Fienga 595. Ht. 17·5. (*a*) Seated half-draped woman with mirror and box; (*b*) Eros. *PP-s* no. 329 bis.

A130. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.8. Ht. 29·5. (*a*) Eros with foot raised, and woman seated on altar, holding red fillet; (*b*) running woman, with tambourine in each hand. Late; moving on to the worse style of Naples 1778.

Small fragments

A131. (NF). Small fragment of skyphos. **Paestum,** Case 45, from the Greek building near the Temenos. Head and shoulders of bearded silen. Early.

A132. (NF 20). Fragment of lekythos. **Paestum,** basement; from the area south of the Basilica. The lower parts of two figures at an altar; that to left is male, with embattled-pattern drapery.

A133. (NF 21). Fragment of cup. **Paestum,** Case 44; from Temple B in the Temenos. I. r.f. laurel; A. upper part of woman.

A134. (NF 22). **Paestum,** Basement; from the area west of *Loc.* IV. Female head.

A135. (NF 23). **Paestum,** Basement; from the same area. Male figure with drapery.

A136–7. (NF 24–5). **Paestum,** Basement; from the area north of *Loc.* IV. Two small fragments of good style—draped woman; drapery. For the drapery, cp. A8 above; these pieces might be by Asteas himself.

In addition to the above there are numerous fragments, representing various parts of the body, drapery, palmettes, etc., which belong to the Asteas Group.

(v) Head Vases

The recent excavations have produced a large number of small vases from the Asteas-Python workshop decorated with female heads. They fall into three main groups: (*a*) the plain style, in which the hair is bound up in a beaded sphendone, as on many of the heads below the handles of hydriai or on the necks of neck-amphorae in the Asteas Group or by Python, (*b*) in which the head is normally covered with a saccos, which may be decorated (i) with black and white dots, or (ii) with a double row of vertical beads, (*c*) in which the hair is bound up in a beaded sphendone, usually with a large bunch at the back and with a white or yellow tall-spiked stephane over the forehead. The last two styles are late and mark the transition to those of the Painters of Naples 1778 and 2585 respectively, the former preferring a beaded sphendone, the latter a large stephane. A good example of this sort of head may be seen on the neck of the late Asteas Group neck-amphora no. A119 above (Pl. IV, *c*).

(*a*) *Plain style*

Lekane

A138. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.76. Ht. 10·5, diam. 11. Female heads.

Lebes gamikos

A139. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.63. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

Lebes gamikos lid

A139 bis. **Basle,** market. Above: (*a*) and (*b*) Female head; below: (*a*) female head, (*b*) swan. The lid consists of a lekane-like cover with a flat knob to which a small lebes gamikos is attached. The style is very close to that of Python.

Squat lekythoi

A140. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.3. Ht. 17. Female head.
A141. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.3. Ht. 12. Female head, with beaded sphendone. Cp. preceding vase.
A142. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.3. Ht. 11. Female head, as above.

Neck-amphora

A143. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.19. Ht. 21. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head. With these also go Naples 734 (*PPSupp* no. 514), Stg. 682 (*PPSupp* no. 503): near is the lebes gamikos from Contrada Andriuolo T.23 (no. A7 above).

(*b*) (*i*) *With black and white dots on the saccos*

Oenochoai

A144. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.21. Ht. 15. Female head.
A145. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.24. Ht. 13. Female head; cp. Copenhagen 98.
A146. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.36. Ht. 18. Female head.
A147. **Copenhagen** 98 (B-S. 269). Ht. 14. Female head. *CVA*, pl. 248, 1.
A148. **Brunswick** AT 372. Ht. 17·6. Female head. *CVA*, pl. 42, 15.
A149. **Dunedin** E25.2. Ht. 16. Female head.

Bottle

A150. **Paestum,** Tempa del Prete, T.12. Ht. 12·5. Female head with dotted saccos. Near in style to the Painter of Naples 1778.

Squat lekythoi

A151. **Paestum,** Contrada Laghetto, T.1. Ht. 17·5. Female head, with dotted saccos.
A152. **Naples** 739 (inv. 82807). Female head.

Pelike

A153. **Paestum.** Contrada Arcioni, T.12. Ht. 15. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head. Late; by same hand as oenochoe no. A144 above.

Lekanai

A154. **Paestum,** Tempa del Prete, T.12. Ht. 16. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.
A155. **Paestum,** Contrada Andriuolo, T.23. Ht. 10·3, diam. 10. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

Lekane lid

A156. **Paestum.** Diam. 11·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head, as on preceding vase.

(*b*) (*ii*) *With double row of dots*

Squat lekythoi

A157. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.30. Ht. 19·6. Female head.
A158. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.24. Ht. 19·5. Female head.
A159. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.27. Ht. 16. Female head.
A160. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, sporadic. Ht. 9·5. Female head.
A161. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.2. Ht. 8. Female head.

Oenochoe

A162. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.20. Ht. 15. Female head.

Lekane

A163. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.4. Ht. 12, int. diam. 10. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

Lekane lid

A164. **Naples.** Ht. 6, diam. 12·5. Female head.

In the same style as the above are the neck-amphora Naples 1965 (inv. 81788; *PPSupp* no. 314), the squat lekythos Naples 1960 (inv. 82173; *PPSupp* no. 513) and the lekane in Paestum from Spinazzo, T.5 (*PPSupp* no. 269). With them may also be compared :—

Stamnos of "kemai" type

A165. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete (sporadic). Ht. 20. Shoulder : female heads with beaded sphendonai; body : b.f. laurel with berries. The fired clay is a light pink shade.

Two other vases with female heads both by the same hand may be noted here also :—

Squat lekythoi

A166. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.13. Ht. 19·5.
A167. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo (sporadic). Ht. 25 (body broken).
The saccos is decorated with a row of crosses and the style is particularly near to that of the head vases of the CA Group (cp. hydria, Naples 2173).

(*c*) *The Spiky Stephane Group*

These vases are all fairly late, mostly from the last quarter of the fourth century, and lead on in style to the Painter of Naples 2585, with whose work they might almost equally well be placed.

Stemless Cups

A168. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.34. Ht. 5·8, diam. 19. I. Female head with large white stephane and earring.

A169. **Paestum,** from Spinazzo. Ht. 5, diam. 18. I. Female head. *PP-s* no. 241 bis.

A170. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.10. Ht. 7, diam. 21. I. Female head with large spiked stephane. *FA* 1953, p. 131, fig. 36. Goes closely with the squat lekythos from Laghetto, T.67, no. A177 below.

A171. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.17. Ht. 7, diam. 27·3. I. Female head, as on preceding vase.

A172. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.15. Ht. 8, diam. 22. I. Female head with dotted saccos.

Neck-amphorae

A173. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.1. Ht. 30. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head. Goes with the lebes gamikos from T.2, no. A183 below. Very near to Naples 2585.

A174. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.59. Ht. 29. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A175. (NF 38). **Paestum,** Case 33; from area north of *Loc.* IV. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

Squat lekythoi

A176. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.13. Ht. 26·5. Female head.

A177. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.67. Ht. 26. Female head with large stephane. Same head as nos. A170–1 above.

A178. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.6. Ht. 13. Female head.

A179. **Paestum,** Tempa del Prete, T.15. Ht. 25. Female head. Close to preceding vase and to Naples 2585.

A180. **Paestum,** Case 33. Ht. 17·5. Female head.

A181. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.12. Ht. 10·5. Male head. Goes closely with the lebes gamikos from T.1 (no. A182) and cp. also Naples VI 1401 (*PPSupp* no. 316).

Lebetes gamikoi

A182. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.1. Ht. 19·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A183. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.2. Ht. 19. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head. Cp. the neck-amphora from T.1 (no. A173).

Hydriai

A184. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.45. Ht. 23·5. Female head with large white stephane.

A185. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete (sporadic). Ht. 24. Female head.

A186. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 24. Female head.

Lekanai

A187. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.13. Diam. 16·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A188. **Paestum,** from Fuscillo, T.14. Ht. 12·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A189. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.2. Ht. 12. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A190. **Paestum,** from Gromola. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head. Ht. 16·5, diam. 15. *NdS* 1952, p. 165, fig. 2.

With this group may also be placed Naples 816, 1904 and VI 1401 (*PPSupp* nos. 507, 315, 316).

(vi) Fish Plates

The finding of a number of fish plates in the tombs near Paestum provides confirmation of the theory that this type of vase was also produced locally. The standard Paestan fish-plate is characterised by an extensive use of dots, especially for the eyes, which are normally rendered by a large black dot surrounded by rings of smaller ones, in a manner quite distinct from that of the fish-plates of other fabrics. Much the same treatment of the eye will be observed on the thrushes and

other birds which regularly appear on the minor vases of the Asteas Group. The first group of fish-plates seems to be the work of the single artist, who may be called the Fravita Painter, from the place where one of his plates was found. The fired clay is normally a rich orange-red and almost no use is made of added white or yellow. On grounds of style we may add the two plates in the British Museum and Kassel to the group, though their provenience is not recorded.

(*a*) *The Fravita Painter*

A191. **Paestum,** from Fravita. Diam. 17·7. Two striped fish (perch) and a crab.
A192. **Salerno,** from Oliveto Citra, T.37. Diam. 19. Three fish (a perch and two rockfish). Extremely close in style to the preceding vase.
A193. **B.M.** F260. Diam. 21. Three fish (a perch and two rockfish). *CVA* IV Ea, pl. 12, 16.
*A194. **Kassel.** Diam. 23·5. Pl. VII, *c*. Three fish, similar to those on the preceding vase.
A195. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.9. Diam. 25. Three fish (polyp, sargus, mullet).
A196. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.10. Ht. 5, diam. 24. Three fish (polyp, sargus, rockfish).
A197. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.18. Diam. 28. Cuttle, perch and rockfish. Cp. with B.M. F260.
A198. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.11. Ht. 5, diam. 19. Sargus, mullet and rockfish.
A199. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.64. Diam. 17. Three fish (a perch and two rockfish).
A200. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.32a. Diam. 18·5. Two perch and a torpedo.

(*b*) *Two large fish-plates, nearer to the Asteas style*

A201. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.18. Diam. 27. Three large fish, with a small torpedo, prawns and scallop. Dotted rim.
A202. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.2. Diam. 34. Cuttle, dog-fish, perch and mullet, with four smaller fish and two prawns. Ivy round rim, Much added white and yellow. *Boll. d'Arte* 1958, p. 60, fig. 27. From the same tomb as the two vases (A3 and 4) attributed to Asteas.

II. THE BOSTON ORESTES PAINTER

It is surprising that so far no vases by this fairly active painter have turned up in the excavations. The only additions to the list of his works consist of:—

Bell-krater

A203. **Buffalo,** Society of Natural Sciences, C12849. Ht. 38. (*a*) Woman and Dionysus; (*b*) two draped youths.

and another vase which should be treated with some reserve, since it has been very heavily overpainted.

Stemless Cup

A204. **Naples** 2581 (inv. 82091). Ht. 11, diam. 28. I. Two women at a laver with Eros. In the exergue: sphinx. Sudhoff, *Aus dem antiken Badewesen*, fig. 39; *PP-s*, p. 167. The treatment of the sphinx in the exergue is so close to that on Vienna 2949 (*PP*, fig. 50) that this cup must almost certainly be placed here.

The following vase, of which I owe my knowledge to the kindness of Dr. K. Schauenburg and Miss Helena Rocha Pereira stands very near in style to him but I have not seen the original and the available photographs were not clear enough to allow of a certain attribution.

Hydria

*A204 bis. **Lisbon,** Duke of Palmella. Pl. I, *d*. The Garden of the Hesperides. On the shoulder, plamettes flanked on either side by ivy leaves; below the side handles, female heads; below the back handle, superimposed palmettes very similar to those on Naples 2873 and on A3 above.

This is the lost hydria mentioned by Brommer (*JdI* 1942, p. 119, III 14; *Vasenlisten*, p. 42, D14) and by Gerhard (*Akad. Abh.* I 65, 4). The scene is not easy to interpret, for though the Hesperides and the golden apple-tree may readily be identified, the youth in Oriental costume can hardly be Herakles. One might perhaps think of Perseus, whom later Greek writers associated with Atlas (*RE* II, 2124).

Since I wrote these notes this vase has been fully published by Miss Rocha Pereira in *Humanitas* XI, 1959, pp. 13–21, figs. 3–8 (*Vasos gregos em Portugal* II, pp. 5–13) and the better illustrations there given confirm Beazley's attribution to the Boston Orestes Painter. The influence of Asteas is clearly to be seen in both the composition and the decoration (cp. fig. 8 *op. cit.* with the palmettes on his Hesperides and Orestes lekythoi), but the style is different and is much closer to that of such vases as Sydney 48·05 (cp. treatment of the drapery, hair and features of the standing woman), Louvre N3148, and Naples 946. The heads below the handles should be compared with those on hydriai of the Asteas Group like no. A25 above or Madrid 11137–8.

III. LATE PAESTAN

It is in this section in particular that the new finds have made important additions to our knowledge and enable us to draw a much clearer picture of the stylistic development of Paestan pottery during the last quarter of the fourth century and its relations with contemporary Campanian. This is well illustrated in the work of a completely new artist—the Floral Painter—of whose vases only one was known before the excavations of 1953.

(i) The Group of Naples 1778

Over 50 new vases from this painter's workshop have emerged and we may see in their style a development from that of Python strongly influenced by the Boston Orestes, Caivano and Laghetto Painters. The painter himself, at his best, has a neat style with a fondness for either black drapery (cp. Python) or a chiton with a double row of small dots down the centre (cp. the Boston Orestes Painter) and groups of fine fold lines at the waist (cp. Caivano Painter). Men's hair is usually long and rendered in individual locks (cp. Caivano Painter) and he makes great use, as a decorative adjunct, of a single palmette leaf, rising from a short white stem. This, indeed, might almost serve as a sort of trademark since it is to be found in so many of his vases. As time progresses the style becomes less precise, but all its essential elements remain, even if in coarser form (cp. the Salerno bell-krater, *PPSupp* no. 410, pl. 16, *c*). The group now includes many minor pieces which, though very close to the painter in style and often reflecting his mannerisms, seem rather to be the work of secondary artists in close association with him. It is noteworthy that on several occasions sets of vases from this workshop were found together in the same tomb (e.g. Tempa del Prete T.12; Contrada Gaudo T.3, T.8, T.10), and that it is at this period that the bottle makes its first appearance at Paestum, under Apulian and Campanian influence, especially the latter, since it is a most popular shape with the later followers of the CA Painter in the last two decades of the century. Also about this time white is more regularly used for the flesh of women, especially on head vases, again under the influence of contemporary Campanian artists like the CA Painter, the Painter of New York GR 1000 or the Ready Painter.

Bottles

*A205. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.8. Ht. 23·5. Pl. VI, *d*, *e*. Eros, youth with raised foot, two women gathering apples shaken down from a tree by Eros, with another Eros below. *FA* 1953, p. 130, fig. 35; *Arch. Reps. 1955* (*JHS*, Suppl. 1956), p. 57; *AA* 1956, 409, fig. 133.

The style of this vase shows clearly the influence of Python both in the use of black drapery with a red head-band and in the rendering of the faces. The treatment of the cloaks with the border of fine dots, the use of black and white dots on the wings and the drawing of the hands are, however, typical of the Painter of Naples 1778, though here the style is rather coarser than in his earlier work.

A206. (NF 36). **Paestum,** Basement; from area north of the temple of Poseidon, *Loc.* IV. Ht. 20. Woman with wreath and figure with lower parts draped seated on a rock-pile, holding a phiale. Between them, an altar. Behind, a large fan palmette.

A207. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.13. Ht. 22. Female head, with white flesh. Cp. with lebes gamikos from same tomb, no. A210 below.

Bell-krater

A208. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.3. Ht. 20·5. (*a*) Seated woman with dish of offerings; (*b*) draped woman with fillet and tambourine in right, spray in left. Close in style to the Salerno bell-krater *PPSupp* no. 410, pl. 16, *c*; cf. with A219 below.

Lebetes gamikoi

A209. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.3. Ht. 47. (*a*) Half-draped youth, seated woman, draped woman with red sphendone; (*b*) seated woman and standing youth, with drapery over his shoulders. Lid: female heads, on both the *lekane* and *lebes* portions. White female heads in relief on shoulder of the front of the vase.

This large *lebes gamikos* is one of four vases of this group found in the same tomb, together with the two head vases A141–2 above, which, while there classed with other similarly decorated vases, are certainly contemporary with these four and again show dependence on the Asteas-Python style. The main scene is set in a square frame with cross-bars at the two top corners, as regularly on vase of the Asteas-Python group, especially with laver scenes. The style is pure Naples 1778, but in its later and cruder version.

A210. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.13. Ht. 30. (*a*) Two women at laver, with small white Eros at base; (*b*) seated woman with wreath and youth with spray. Shoulder: white female heads, as on bottle from same tomb (A207, above). *AJA* 1954, pl. 69, fig. 7.

From the same tomb comes a Campanian hydria (*FA* 1953, p. 131, fig. 37) from the workshop of the CA Painter (Spinazzo Group), well illustrating the contemporary style which had such a strong influence on late Paestan, especially in its use of added white and yellow. The *lebes* is very near to the apple-gatherers bottle (A205), notably in the treatment of Eros.

A211. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.12. Ht. 41 (with lid), 34 (without). (*a*) Seated woman and standing youth; (*b*) woman to right with tambourine. Lid: (*a*) and (*b*) female head, with white-beaded stephane. *FA* 1953, p. 129, fig. 33 (where lid is not shown).

The seated woman may be compared with the one on the Salerno bell-krater *PPSupp* no. 410; the pattern below the design is rare, but recurs on the late Asteas Group neck-amphora (A119; pl. IV, *e*), in which the style of Late Paestan is clearly anticipated. The fired clay has a pink tinge.

A212. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.12. Ht. 23. (*a*) Running satyr, with thyrsus and situla; (*b*) seated draped woman. Cp. the previous vase and the Salerno krater.

A213. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.5. Ht. 23. (*a*) Nude youth with foot raised; (*b*) seated woman with phiale.

A214. (NF 27). **Paestum**, large fragment. Basement. Basement; from north of *Loc.* IV. Ht. 16. (*a*) Two nude women at a laver; (*b*) youth and woman.

A215. (NF 28). **Paestum**, Case 33; from the area of *Loc.* IV. Ht. 15; 19·5, incl. handles. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) seated effeminate youth with skewer of fruit.

A216. (NF 29). **Paestum,** fragment. Basement; from the area north of *Loc.* IV. Seated and standing nude women at a laver.

Probably in this group should also be placed the lebes gamikos in Case 33, from the same area as the three preceding vases. In *PP-s* (NF 26) I assigned it to the Painter of Naples 1778; later I had doubts and felt that it might belong to the Caivano Group, as it was especially near to such vases as Capua, *CVA*, pl. 50, 1 (*PPSupp* no. 405) and Naples (*PP*, fig. 55; *PPSupp* no. 404). It serves very well to illustrate the extremely close stylistic relationship between the Caivano Painter and the Painter of Naples 1778.

Pelikai

A217 **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.10. Ht. 11. (*a*) Female head, with white flesh; (*b*) female head. Goes with the bottle and the lebes gamikos A207 and A210 above.

A218. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.3. Ht. 24·3. (*a*) Woman seated on white tendril and nude youth with drapery over arm; (*b*) running woman. Crude, late style; cp. skyphos from same tomb (no. A256 below).

Neck-amphorae

A219. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.3. Ht. 29·6. (*a*) Seated woman with mirror and wreath, (*b*) youth with foot raised on white rock. Cp. the Salerno bell-krater (*PPSupp* no. 410).

A220. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.1. Ht. 25. (*a*) Woman with cista seated on tendril, (*b*) effeminate youth likewise. Similar in style to the preceding vase.

A221. **Paestum,** from Spinazzo (Parco Ogliastro), T.3. Ht. 36. (*a*) Draped woman with cista; (*b*) youth with tambourine and torch.

A221 bis. Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional 1530. (*a*) Woman seated on tendril, holding wreath; (*b*) young satyr leaning forward to left, with right foot on dotted rock.

A222. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.120. Ht. 28·5. (*a*) Seated half-draped woman; (*b*) nude youth with foot raised. Cp. Salerno, *PPSupp* no. 410.

A223. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.36. Ht. 30. (*a*) Seated half-draped woman; (*b*) nude youth with foot raised. Cp. Salerno, *PPSupp* no. 410.

A224. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.5. Ht. 29·5. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) seated youth with wreath. Similar in style to the two preceding vases.

A225. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.12. Ht. 31·5. (*a*) Seated woman with phiale; (*b*) youth with raised foot, holding spray and fillet. Late; bad style.

A226. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.76. Ht. 28. (*a*) Effeminate youth seated on tendril; (*b*) woman seated on tendril, looking back to right.

A227. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.10. Ht. 38·7. (*a*) Half-draped woman seated on black dotted rock; (*b*) seated half-draped woman; leaf to right. Crude style.

Fragments

A228. (NF 30). **Paestum,** Basement; from area north of *Loc.* IV. (*a*) Youth with red ribbons at stele; (*b*) two draped youths with palmette between. Cf. Naples 1779 (*PP* no. 327, pl. 34, *d*; *PPSupp* no. 437).

Hydriai

A229. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.12. Ht. 42·5. Youth and draped woman at altar.

A230. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.4. Ht. 23. Woman seated on white tendril with mirror and phiale.

A231. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.30. Ht. 23. Long-haired youth with cista and wreath seated on drapery on white tendril; palmette leaf to left. Bad style.

A232. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.8. Ht. 35·5. Effeminate youth and draped woman running. Below handles: female heads with thick corkscrew curls and dotted saccoi. Crude style.

Squat lekythoi

A233. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.10. Ht. 32·5. Woman with foot raised, holding wreath in left and drinking-horn in right, youth seated on tendril, turning back towards her. The woman is wearing a black and white dotted fawnskin, and has a dotted saccos. Red fillets. Typical later style.

A234. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo (sporadic). Ht. 38·5. Seated woman, standing youth, woman holding box, youth with drapery and pilos. Close in style to Naples 1784.

A235. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.5. Ht. (top missing) 25. Seated woman and nude youth with foot raised. Palmette leaf to right.

A236. **Palermo** 1006. Ht. 31. Youth and woman, with altar between.

A237. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.9. Ht. 24·5. Nude youth with situla and torch. Large palmette leaf to right.

A238. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.9. Ht. 26. Seated woman; palmette leaf.

A239. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.7. Ht. (restored) 25. Seated woman with cista.

Oenochoai

A240. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.10. Ht. 29. Draped woman leaning forward over raised foot, nude youth seated on tendril, looking back at her. Cp. with lebes gamikos, no. A209 above; typical late style.

A241. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.7. Ht. (restored) 25. Youth and woman.

A242. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.9. Ht. 21. Youth with raised foot holding tambourine; palmette leaf.

A243. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.8. Ht. 22·5. Nude youth bending forward over raised foot. Crude style.

A244. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.14. Ht. 21. Woman seated on tendril with spray and wreath. Crude; cp. the reverse figure on A227.

Stemless Cups

A245. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.9. Ht. 7, int. diam. 23. I. Woman seated to left and nude youth with fillet. Late; cp. Geneva I 697 (*PP*, fig. 59).

A246. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.20. Ht. 7, int. diam. 22·5. I. Woman seated to left and youth raised foot. Large palmette leaf to right. Cp. Geneva I 697 and previous vase.

A247. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.10. Ht. 6, int. diam. 21·5. I. Standing woman and seated youth. Cp. Geneva I 697.

A248. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.19. Ht. 6·5, int. diam. 20. I. Half-draped woman seated beside a nude youth.

A249. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.10. Ht. 5·7, int. diam. 17·5. I. Woman seated to left, holding up phiale. The lower part of her body is draped in a cloak with a dotted border.

A250. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.9. Diam. 17. Running youth; palmette leaf.

A251. **Paestum,** from Spinazzo (Parco Ogliastro), T.3. Ht. 6, diam. 20. Seated woman with box of offerings—palmette leaves around. Similar in style to the Salerno krater (*PPSupp* no. 410).

A252. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.30. Ht. 6, int. diam. 20. Youth seated on white tendril; palmette leaf to right.

Ring Askos (with knotted handle)

A253. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.8. (*a*) Reclining nude youth; (*b*) reclining nude youth with cista. Crude style.

Skyphoi

A254. (NF 31). **Paestum,** Case 6. Fragment from Zone A, Foce del Sele. Male head with red fillet and dotted curls. Shows the close relationship between the style of the Caivano Painter and that of Naples 1778. Cf. *PPSupp*, nos. 404–5 and 416; *PP*, figs. 55 and 58.

A255. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.5. Ht. 12. (*a*) Seated woman with fruit; (*b*) seated youth.

A256. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.3. Ht. 17·5. (*a*) Seated woman and nude effeminate youth, with drapery over right arm; (*b*) running woman with phiale and tambourine. Crude style.

A257. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.8. Ht. 14. (*a*) Running woman; (*b*) seated nude youth. Crude; cp. neck-amphora from Laghetto T.5, no. A224 above.

Lekanai

A258. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.3. Ht. 20, diam. 24·5. (*a*) Woman seated on rock, with dish of offerings; leaf to left; (*b*) Eros kneeling on rocky ground, holding phiale and white wreath in right. Large wings.

A259. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.10. Ht. 13·5, diam. 16. (*a*) Eros, (*b*) swan. Palmette leaves. Surface mostly worn away.

Lekane lids

A260. (NF 33). **Paestum,** Basement; from area north of *Loc.* IV, level 10. Ht. with knob 12·5. Seated woman with cista; below—female heads with palmette between.

A261–2. (NF 34–5). **Paestum,** Basement; from same area, level 8. Two small fragments with female heads.

(ii) The Painter of Naples 2585

The Painters of Naples 2585 continues the tradition of the latest work of the Asteas Group and the influence of such vases as the neck-amphora A119, pl. IV *e* can readily be seen. His style is quite different from that of his contemporary, the Painter of Naples 1778, being much bolder but in many ways somewhat coarser. He is particularly partial to scenes of offerings—a nude youth, generally with one foot raised upon a plant, offering eggs, wreaths, or fillets to a woman seated upon an altar and generally enveloped in a himation which her bent arm causes to stick out in front of her (e.g. Naples 1773, *PP* pl. 35, *c*). The field is usually filled with various decorative adjuncts, tambourines, phialai, fillets and a triangular ornament with a row of eggs on top. He makes extensive use of added white and yellow; and in his latest vases his style becomes extremely debased. He may use the typical Paestan framing palmette, but is often content with a tall leaf curling over and a single fan below it. The new vases add a great many pieces in his typical style, as well as a number of head vases which are very near to those of the Spiky-Stephane Group, many of which also have a triangular ornament and could perhaps almost as well be placed in this group. The period of his main activity must fall within the last two decades of the fourth century.

Bell-kraters

A263. **Nostell Priory** 17. (*a*) Young satyr and draped woman; (*b*) draped youth and draped woman. *PP-s* no. 456 bis; early, still under the influence of the Asteas Group.

A264. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 39·5. (*a*) Youth with raised foot offering gifts to woman; (*b*) seated woman. Pure style, cp. Naples 1773.

A265. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 28. (*a*) Running woman; (*b*) youth leaning forward over raised foot.

A266. **Palermo** 1098. Ht. 40. (*a*) Dionysus and maenad; (*b*) running woman with tambourine.

A267. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.120. Ht. 22·5. (*a*) Nude youth with foot raised by altar; (*b*) seated half-draped woman with phiale.

A268. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.15. Ht. 31. (*a*) Youth with foot raised by altar; (*b*) running woman with tambourine, phiale and wreath. Cp. Naples 1773.

A269. **Mnichovo Hradiste,** Castle, 5185. (*a*) Nude youth crowning stele; (*b*) half draped woman with phiale and tambourine seated by altar. Very close in style to Louvre K254 (*PP*, pl. 36,*a*).

A270. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 34. (*a*) Youth with raised foot by altar; (*b*) draped woman with phiale and tambourine.

A271. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 34·5. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) nude youth with raised foot by altar. Late.

A272. **Turin** 4697. Ht. 24·5. (*a*) Male head; (*b*) female head.

A273. **Turin** 4596. Ht. 24. (*a*) Male head; (*b*) female head.

A274. **Turin** (no number). Ht. 22·5. (*a*) Female head; (*b*) female head.

Calyx-krater

A275. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.65. Ht. 25·5. (*a*) Running woman with phiale, tambourine and wreath; (*b*) woman running to altar.

Neck-amphorae

A276. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.66. Ht. 32. (*a*) Seated draped woman with tambourine; (*b*) nude youth with foot raised by altar. Cp. bell-krater, A267 above.

A277. **Paestum,** from Contrada Arcioni, T.9. Ht. 41·8. (*a*) Nude youth with tambourine; (*b*) draped woman. Cp. B.M. 1580 (*PP*, pl. 35, *b*).

A278. **Paestum,** from Oliveto Citra. (*a*) Male head with laurel; (*b*) female head. Cp. B.M. 1580.

A279. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.6. Ht. 48·8. (*a*) Woman seated on tendril, holding dish of offerings; (*b*) seated draped woman with phiale. Crude style: cp. stemless cup and oenochoe from same tomb.

Stemless Cups

A280. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.18. Int. diam. 23. Youth with foot raised on tendril and woman seated by altar. Cp. Naples 2585 (*PP*, pl. 35, *d*).

A281. **St. Agata,** once Rainone Coll. Ht. 6, diam. 22·5. Youth with foot raised, and woman seated on tendril.

A282. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.80. Ht. 5, int. diam. 18. Female head.

A283. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.6. Ht. 7·2, diam. 27·3. Nude youth with foot raised on tendril offers dish of eggs to woman seated on altar. Crude style: cp. neck-amphora A279 above.

Squat lekythos

A284. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.17. Ht. 36. Youth with foot raised offering fillet to half-draped woman seated on altar. To left a large white altar. Pure style, as Naples 2585.

Lebetes gamikoi

A285. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete (sporadic). Ht. 23. (*a*) Youth with foot raised, holding staff and skewer of fruit; (*b*) woman seated on tendril. Early: strong influence of Asteas Group; cp. no. A263.

A286. (NF 37). **Paestum,** Basement; from area north of *Loc.* IV, level 8. Ht. 25. Large fragment: (*a*) nude youth with one foot raised offers gifts to a seated woman.

A287. **Naples** 723 (inv. 81892). (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

Oenochoai

A288. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.6. Ht. 36. Nude youth and seated woman. For the white flesh and golden curls, cp. the bottle A207 above. Not very far in style from the Spinazzo oenochoe by the Floral Painter (A294 below).

A289. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.18. Ht. 30. Half-draped youth with foot raised on spotted rock holds up mirror to woman with tambourine and phiale seated on altar.

A290. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.3. Ht. 26. Nude youth with knotty staff, and woman running right.

(iii) The Floral Painter

The Floral Painter is a new late Paestan artist whose work remained unidentified until the recent excavations, since it had previously consisted of a single vase (A294), which was found over twenty years ago in the Spinazzo necropolis and which stood considerably apart in style from all the other then-known Paestan vases. Three of the new tombs (Andriuolo 5, Fuscillo 14 and Tempa del Prete 16) have added a further eight vases, as a result of which we can now form a clear picture of this painter and his highly individual style. The three vases from Andriuolo 5 are the most important and consist of:

Bottle

*A291. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.5. Ht. 36. Pl. V, *a*, *b*. (*a*) Two nude women at a laver, above which flies a small white bird with a wreath; to left, a third nude woman kneeling and looking into a mirror, above her flies a small white Eros, holding a large piece of hanging white drapery; (*b*) large female head rising from a floral calyx, with a small white Eros flying above. *Arch. Reps. 1955* (*JHS* 1956, Suppl.), p. 57, pl. 5, *d*.

Lebes gamikos

*A292. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.5. Ht. 64·5. Pl. IV, *c*, *d*. (*a*) Two nude women at a laver, above which is a flying Eros; (*b*) two draped women, one moving to left with dish, the other to right with situla and phiale. Lid: female heads. *AJA*, LX, 1956, pl. 128, fig. 2.

Lekane

*A293. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.5. Ht. 26, diam. 29·5. Pl. VII, *d*. The meeting of Orestes and Electra with Pylades at the tomb; woman coming up with wreath; woman with phiale approaching seated woman with wreath and fillet. The several groups are separated by palmettes with florals. *Arch. Reps. 1955*, p. 57; Sestieri, *Dioniso* XXII, 1959, p. 43, fig. 2.

The style of this artist who is clearly contemporary with the Painters of Naples 1778 and 2585, owes a good deal to both of them but reflects even more strongly the influence of Campanian of the CA Group. Its roots go back to Python, the latest artists of the Asteas Group and the Boston Orestes Painter, all of whom have contributed some elements to the making of what is one of the most distinctive Paestan styles.

Campanian influence is well illustrated by the large lekane which corresponds very closely with several of the CA Group in both shape (cp. Naples 2136 (inv. 82209) and RC 29 (inv. 86407)—*Mon. Ant.* XXII, 1914, c. 687, fig. 235) and decoration, especially in the palmettes, florals and white saplings. Noteworthy also is the use of a white *thronos* on which is a cover with a fringed edge, a feature to be found on many vases by the CA Painter and his followers.

Characteristic is the use of white for the flesh of women—it often rubs away, as on Electra, leaving the features blank. This is regular in vases of the CA Group (especially the CA and Ready Painters), and though it can be found in Asteas (cp. no. A4 above), and in the Painter of Naples 2585 (cp. A288 above and Vienna 348; *PP* pl. 36, *c*), it appears most frequently at Paestum in the Apulianising vases of the next group, which are contemporary with the Floral Painter. White is also extensively used for adjuncts, as with the Painter of Naples 2585, whose influence can also be seen in the use of triangular ornaments; red is used sparingly, for example on the folded drapery below the laver on the bottle. Diluted glaze is used for fold-lines and for body markings. Typical also of this painter is the double row of small fold-lines at the waist, rendered in a far heavier manner than by the Painter of Naples 1778 and not a little reminiscent of the work of the Painter of B.M. F247, a late artist of the CA Group (cp. B.M. F247—*CVA* IV Ea, pl. 9, 1; the lekanai Naples 2137 and 141357; the spouted lebes Frankfurt H5—*AA* 1910, p. 467, fig. 9). The decoration tends to be rather exuberant, and the bottle again affords a good instance of this; note the large floral on the reverse with palmette-like leaves, edged in white, and flowers bursting into bloom amongst them. Similar flowers spring from the palmettes on the lekane, with, as a variant, a floral with a black oval centre, which recurs on the Spinazzo oenochoe (A294; Pl. V, *c-d*). The favourite patterns are wave or egg-and-dots (cp. A291 and 294).

Two other vases can be very closely related to the three listed above:—

Oenochoe (shape 3)

* A294. **Paestum,** from Spinazzo. Ht. 34. Pl. V, *c, d*. Dionysus with thyrsus seated on chair between a nude youth with offerings and a seated half-draped woman. The fired clay is curiously muddy in colour, unlike the rich orange-red of the other vases.

* A295. **Paestum,** from Fuscillo, T.14. Ht. 21·4. Pl. VII, *b*. Eros offering bead-wreath to woman seated upon a chair, holding up a mirror in her right hand.

Both these vases clearly demonstrate the artist's standard style and reproduce many details from the other vases. The seated figure in the centre of the oenochoe seems, despite the adornments, to be male, for the breasts are not rendered in the rather prominent fashion characteristic of his women (cp. A291, A292, A295). The artist is fond of large vases; the oenochoe has an unusually big mouth—it is indeed unique in this regard, the nearest parallel being A288 above—and his lebes gamikos is one of the largest Paestan examples known. The lid is very elaborate and consists of a lekane surmounted by a small lebes, with its own lid, for which a small bottle serves as the knob. The lekane and lebes are decorated with female heads, very similar in style to the heads of the two women by the laver on the reverse of the vase or on the front of the large bottle. The hair is caught up in a sphendone, decorated with lines and rows of dots, and there is normally a large chignon at the back, tied round with a white ribbon. Similar heads appear upon a number of other smaller vases, which may also be ascribed to this painter :—

Hydria

A296. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.16. Ht. 23. Female head. *FA* VIII, 1953, p. 130, no. 1710, fig. 34, *d*.

Lebes gamikos

A297. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.16. Ht. 14. Female head. *FA* VIII, 1953, p. 130, no. 1710, fig. 34, *c*.

Lekanai

A298. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.16. Ht. 9, diam. 6. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.
A299. **Paestum,** from Fuscillo, T.14. Ht. 8·5, diam. 7·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

The heads on the vases from Tempa del Prete all have a spiky stephane, derived from those found on some of the head vases of the late Asteas Group or by the Painter of Naples 2585, and the use of his favourite triangular ornament is further evidence of his influence.

The subjects represented on the Floral Painter's vases are mostly derived from the works of his predecessors or contemporaries—the laver scenes are common with Asteas and his followers, and the Painter of Naples 2585 (cp. Madrid 11442, Leroux, pl. 50, 2); the representation of Orestes and Electra looks back to Python; the small white Erotes remind us of the Painter of Naples 1778—but the female head, rising from a floral calyx, on the reverse of the large bottle, is an innovation for Paestum. Such heads are common enough in Apulian, especially on the necks of volute-kraters, but in a floral setting they are rare in the western vase fabrics. The sanctuaries of Hera at Paestum and at the Foce del Sele have yielded many terracottas of a somewhat similar design; these probably represent Hera Eilithyia and it is only natural to think that the vase probably does likewise.

(iv) Late Minor Vases

This group comprises some late vases, mostly decorated with female heads or birds, which may be dated to the last two decades of the fourth century. The birds mostly have black dotted eyes, like those on the fish-plates, and represent a later development of the thrushes which regularly figure upon the vases of the Asteas Group.

Bell-krater

A300. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.27. Ht. 21·5. (*a*) Draped woman; (*b*) seated half-draped woman. Near to the Group of Naples 1778.

Neck-amphora

A301. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.81. Ht. 19. (*a*) Female head; (*b*) male head.

Lebetes gamikoi

A302. (NF 39). **Paestum,** Case 33; from area north of *Loc.* IV. Ht. 8. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A303. (NF 40). **Paestum,** Case 33; from same area. Ht. 7·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A304. (NF 41). **Paestum,** Case 33; from same area. Ht. 6·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A305. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.63. Ht. 13·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A306. (NF 42). **Paestum,** Basement; from north of Loc. IV, level 8. Badly broken. Ht. 14. (*a*) Nude youth with red fillet before altar; (*b*) nude woman with red fillet (mostly missing).

A307. (NF 43). **Paestum,** Basement; from same area. Fragment, showing upper part of woman with folded drapery above. Probably from a laver scene.

Lid of a lebes gamikos

A308. **Naples** 134235. Ht. 13. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads. The lid consisted of a lekane with a small lebes gamikos on top, which is also decorated with female heads.

Lekanai

A309. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.38. Ht. 12, int. diam. 11. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

A310. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.15. Ht. 13, int. diam. 12. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head. Late—same hand as squat lekythos A318.

A311. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.45. Ht. 10, int. diam. 10. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads.

Lekane lids

A312. **Naples.** Ht. 7, diam. 17·5. (*a*) Female head; (*b*) bird. Nearest in style to the Group of Naples 1778.

A313. (NF 44). **Paestum,** Basement; from north of *Loc.* IV, level 10. Diam. 9. Seated nude woman; seated draped woman.

A314. (NF 45). **Paestum,** Basement; from same area. Diam. 7. Two female heads.

A315. (NF 46). **Paestum,** Basement, from same area. Diam. 10. Two female heads.

Squat lekythoi

A316. (NF 48). **Paestum,** Basement; from north of *Loc.* IV, level 8. Ht. 21. (Top missing). Nude youth moving to right between framing palmettes.

A317. (NF 47). **Paestum,** Case 33; from area of *Loc.* IV. Ht. 19·5. Female head between palmettes.

A318. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.15. Ht. 17. Female head. Same hand as lekane no. A310.

A319. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.81. Ht. (top missing) 10. Female head.

A320. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.120. Ht. 12. Female head with dotted sphendone.

A321. **Paestum,** from Fravita. Ht. 16. Thrush.

A322. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.23. Ht. 18. Thrush. Cp. preceding vase; also the Philadelphia bell-krater (*PPSupp* no. 499).

A323. **Paestum,** from Contrada Laghetto, T.65. Ht. 19. Swan by altar. Cp. *PPSupp* nos. 515–518.

A324. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.10. Ht. 16. Swan.

A325. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.37. Ht. 18. Swan.

Oenochoe (*shape* 3)

A326. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.11. Ht. 12. Swan.

Fish-plate

A327. **Paestum,** from Contrada Gaudo, T.6. Ht. 8·5, diam. 28·5. Four fish (torpedo, 2 sargi and striped fish). Late; found with vases of the Naples 2585 Group (A279, 283, 288 above).

Epichysis

A328. (NF 49). **Paestum,** Case 42; from the area of the Basilica. Ht. 19·5. Seated woman with phiale.

Kantharos

A329. (NF 50). **Paestum,** Basement; from north of *Loc.* IV, level 10. Fragment of lower part only—ht. 10·5. (*a*) Seated figure; (*b*) standing figure with feet crossed.

Fragment

A330. (NF 51). **Paestum,** Basement; from west of *Loc.* IV, level 1. Youth and woman.

IV. THE APULIANISING GROUP

This group was identified and discussed in *Paestan Post-script*, pp. 163–167, since when several new vases have come to light, especially in the Andriuolo tombs. The fired clay, except on the earlier vases, where it is light buff in colour, is usually a deep orange-brown and a good deal of added white is used, both for adjuncts and for female flesh. On the larger vases an added red, of an unusually bright hue, is also found. The bottle is the most popular shape; it may be decorated with figures on both sides, but more often on one only, in which case the other side is filled with elaborate scroll-work and palmettes.

The earliest vases in this style are large pieces, usually with interesting subjects, but unfortunately preserved only in a very fragmentary condition.

Bottle

A331. **Paestum,** Case 33, from the area of the Temple of Poseidon, *Loc.* IV. Upper portion missing. Apollo and Marsyas. In the centre Nike, holding a wreath, hovers above Apollo, who is shown standing with the lyre at his feet. To right is Marsyas bound to a tree, from a branch of which hangs his flute-case; a shaggy silen, and a couple of women, probably Muses. Schauenburg, *RM* LXV, 1958, p. 51, pl. 35.

Neck-amphora

A332. **Paestum**, Case 33, from same area. *PP-s*, pl. 38, *d*. On the neck is Athena in a quadriga; the main sceme represents to left a youth holding up a small child, only the legs of which remain, beside a couch from which rises a woman with white flesh draped in a scarlet cloak. To right is another woman resting her right elbow against the cushions of the couch. The scene may represent the birth of Dionysus (cp. *CVA* California, pls. 47–50).

Most of the added white has now disappeared and so it is difficult to make out the features of the women, but the artist is a painter of considerable power and one would like to see more of his work. There is a small fragment in the Basement showing a woman seated on a couch, which is in the same style and may well also be from this vase.

Skyphos

A333. **Paestum,** Case 42, from the area of the Basilica. (*a*) Woman seated between woman and youth, with small Eros hovering over her head; (*b*) woman. *PP-s*, pl. 38, *e*. Only the upper part of the figures remains; the seated woman is in three-quarter face and has curling hair rather like the woman beside the couch on the previous vase. The hovering Eros had wings in added white, which has now almost completely vanished. Near in style to this vase is the bell-krater Philadelphia L29.46 (*PPSupp*, p. 40, pl. 16, *d*).

Fragments

A334. **Paestum,** Case 42, from the same area. Bearded male heads in frontal view. The drawing is similar to that of the shaggy silen on the bottle, but the style is scrappier. There are traces of added white and red.

The standard Apulianising style may be well seen in a series of bottles found near the Basilica or in the area around the Temple of Poseidon, where they had apparently been dedicated in the Sanctuary of Hera. Most of them represent seated women or Erotes and there is very often a piece of folded drapery somewhere about the scene (*PP-s*, p. 163). The style has a very strong Apulian flavour, but the added white for female flesh would be very unusual in that fabric.

The Folded Drapery Group

Bottles

A335. **Paestum,** Case 33, from *Loc.* IV. Ht. 32. (*a*) Three woman at laver with Eros hovering above; (*b*) large female head. *PP-s*, pl. 38, *a*. On the neck of (*a*) is a head of Nike, which is obviously derived from an Apulian prototype.

A336. **Paestum,** Case 33, from *Loc.* IV. Ht. 22. Seated white-fleshed woman with large cista. The white has mostly worn off. *PP-s*, pl. 38, *b*.

A somewhat similar style, with the same use of white for female flesh, may be seen in the work of the Painter of Naples 856, a Campanian artist of the CA Group contemporary with and influenced by the Ready and APZ Painters (cp. Naples 856, Patroni p. 84, fig. 52, and in particular the running woman on the bell-krater Louvre K136).

A337. **Paestum**, Case 42, from the Basilica. Ht. 24·5. Seated Eros with fan. *PP-s*, pl. 38, *c*.

In style this vase is strongly reminiscent of some of the contemporary minor r.f. vases found in Sicily and clearly reflecting the same influence (cp. the squat lekythos in Gela representing Eros with a fan, *Kokalos* 4, 1958, fig. 52).

A338. **Paestum,** Basement, from N. of *Loc.* IV. Ht. 16. Two kneeling white-fleshed women opening a box.

A339. **Paestum,** Basement, from N. of *Loc.* IV. Ht. 15 (top missing). Eros on a rock-pile.

A340. **Paestum,** Case 33, from *Loc.* IV. Ht. 16. Woman kneeling at large laver; drapery behind.

A341. **Paestum,** Case 33, from *Loc.* IV. Ht. 21.5. Kneeling woman with large fan at open box; folded drapery behind.

Lekanai

A342. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.1. Ht. 21·5, diam. 25. Woman with cista seated on rock-pile, nude woman kneeling in front of basin, Pan, Eros holding dog in leash, woman seated on rock with dishes in front of young satyr—between them, a kalathos-like altar with offerings; bird. Cp. PP-*s*, pl. 38, *b* and *c*.

A343. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.15. Ht. 24, int. diam. 21. (*a*) Woman with mirror and bunch of grapes; (*b*) seated woman with mirror and wreath. Cp. PP-*s*, pl. 38, *b*.

Lebes gamikos

A344. **Paestum,** Basement, from N. of *Loc.* IV (frr.). Shoulder: female heads and rosettes. Body: Nude woman with mirror at laver in which is a kneeling Eros; draped woman with fan to right. *PP-s*, pl. 38 *f*.

Fragment

A345. **Paestum,** Basement, from Basilica. Woman washing; drapery above. Perhaps from same vase as preceding.

Near in style to the preceding:

Bottles

A346. **Paestum,** Case 6, from Foce del Sele (frr.). Man in front of heroon; female head with staring eyes.

A347. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.1. Ht. 25·5. Seated woman with mirror and nude youth with bunch of grapes. Found together with A342, a squat lekythos and a bottle, both decorated with network pattern.

The following vases are also in the Apulianising style:

Volute-krater (broken)

A348. **Naples.** Ht. 46. (*a*) Standing woman with cista, and seated woman; (*b*) running woman with phiale and wreath.

Bottles

A349. **Paestum,** Case 33; from area N. of *Loc.* IV. Ht. 28. Eros and woman seated on rock-pile. A great deal of added white is used—for the flesh of the woman, the rocks, and the wings of Eros. A large fan palmette behind.

A350. **Paestum,** Case 33; from same area. Ht. 26. Eros and seated woman with wreath and mirror.

A351. **Paestum,** Basement; from north of *Loc.* IV, level 8. Ht. 30. Nude youth, draped white-fleshed woman moving to left and looking right; palmette, Eros with phiale.

A352. **Paestum,** Basement; from same area. Ht. 14 (topless). Seated woman with tambourine and open cista.

A353. **B.M.** 1957.2–12.11. Ht. 26. Draped woman with thyrsus; Eros.

A354. **Copenhagen,** ABc 985. Ht. 16·4. Seated Eros. *CVA*, pl. 248, 4.

A355. **Paestum,** Basement, from north of *Loc.* IV, level 8. Ht. 17. Female heads (*PP-s*, p. 165).

Spouted bottle

A356. **Paestum,** Case 47. Head of Nike; Eros; Eros and rosettes.

Lebetes gamikoi

A357. **Paestum,** Case 33, from *Loc.* IV. Ht. 18·5. (*a*) Seated woman with mirror and phiale; (*b*) female head.

A358. **Paestum,** Case 33, from *Loc.* IV. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

Lebes lid

A359. **Paestum,** Basement (fr.). Seated woman and standing youth, with drapery behind him and wrapped over right arm.

Lekane

A360. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.28. Ht. 14·5, int. diam. 13·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads.

Lekane lid

A361. **Salerno,** from Castellabate. Diam. 25·5. (*a*) Seated frontal woman on rock; (*b*) Eros seated on altar with folded drapery over it.

Skyphos lid

A362. **Paestum,** Case 33, from *Loc.* IV. Female heads.

Lekythos

A363. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.13. Ht. 21·2. Eros amid florals.

Squat lekythoi

A364. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo T. 18. Ht. 39. Eros seated on laver between woman with cista and woman moving right with wreath.

A365. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.28. Ht. 28·5. Female head to left with staring eyes.

Neck-amphorae

A366. **Paestum,** from Tempa del Prete, T.10. Ht. 56. (*a*) Running white-fleshed woman with bunch of grapes; (*b*) draped woman with cista.

A367. **Salerno,** from Oliveto Citra. Ht. 42·5. (*a*) White-fleshed woman running with phiale; (*b*) draped youth.

Fragments from large vases (amphorae or lebetes gamikoi)

A368. **Paestum,** Basement; from *Loc.* II, north of Temple of Poseidon. Actual ht. 23. (*a*) Nude youth, seated woman, standing draped woman with fan; (*b*) running woman with large bunch of grapes.

A369. **Paestum,** Basement; from north of *Loc.* IV, level 11. Actual ht. 24. (*a*) Youth, seated woman and flying Eros; (*b*) woman with wreath.

Stemless Cups

A370. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.19. Ht. 8, int. diam. 26. Woman with fan seated on rock, nude youth with drapery over left arm.

A371. **Paestum,** from Contrada Andriuolo, T.21. Ht. 8, int. diam. 26. Nude youth and draped woman with cista.

Alabastron (fr.)

A372. **Paestum,** Case 28. Draped woman.

Pelike

A373. **Paestum,** Basement. Ht. 23·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female head.

V. VASES DECORATED IN APPLIED RED

In *PP Supp* mention was made (p. 37) of the discovery along with red-figured vases of vases decorated in applied red and the suggestion put forward that these might well also be of local manufacture. The new finds confirm this, as they have yielded several vases which it seems possible to ascribe to known Paestan painters or at least to recognisable groups. Of particular interest in this regard are the contents of Tomb 7 in the Contrada Andriuolo. These included four r.f. Paestan vases (A43, A60, A68, A85) from the Asteas-Python workshop, three r.f. vases by a new artist, probably Campanian and very close in style to the Caivano Painter, who has been called the Laghetto Painter (*Arch. Reps. 1955*, p. 58), and five vases decorated with figures in applied red. Of these two are squat lekythoi depicting respectively (1) a young satyr with a thyrsus seated on a dotted rock in front of a woman with a phiale and (2) a seated woman on a similar rock in front of a young satyr holding a thyrsus. In style and treatment they resemble the vases of the Laghetto Painter so closely that it is impossible not to regard them as his own work. The other three vases in the same technique may clearly be placed on stylistic evidence with the minor vases of the Asteas-Python workshop, being extremely close at least to the last three of the r.f. vases (A60, A68, A85) found along with them.

The vases in applied red of the Asteas-Python workshop may be listed as follows:—

I. From Contrada Andriuolo, T.7

AR1. Hydria. Ht. 20·5. Nude youth holding mirror and thyrsus seated on tendril.

AR2. Lebes gamikos. Ht. 18. (*a*) Seated Eros with mirror; (*b*) siren.

AR3. Squat lekythos. Ht. 15. Seated figure with phiale and wreath. Much of the added colour has worn off.

II. From Contrada Andriuolo, T.2.

AR4. Squat lekythos. Ht. 20. Eros with foot raised on rock-pile.

AR5. Squat lekythos. Ht. 19. Nude youth with phiale and thyrsus beside altar.

AR6. Lebes gamikos. Ht. 19·5. (*a*) Eros; (*b*) seated figure (mostly disappeared). By the same painter as AR2 above.

AR7. Skyphos. Ht. 8. (*a*) Female head; (*b*) thrush. With these vases were found three r.f. vases (A32, A167, A88), the last two of which belong among the minor vases of the Asteas-Python workshop and are decorated with similar figures.

III. From Contrada Laghetto, T.22.

AR8. Neck amphora. Ht. 21·5. (*a*) Seated woman with phiale and skewer of fruit; (*b*) seated woman with mirror.

AR9. Hydria. Ht. 20 (top missing). Seated woman with skewer of fruit, as on preceding vase These were also found with two r.f. vases of similar style (A70 and A100).

IV. From Contrada Laghetto, T.94.

AR10. Stemless Cup. Diam. 19. I. Young satyr holding egg.

Among the contents of T.64 of the Contrada Laghetto (see Sestieri, *Boll. d'Arte* 1956, pp. 71–73) were three vases in applied red by a painter with a distinctive style who may be called the Painter of T.64. They are as follows:—

AR11. Stemless cup. Diam. 17·5. I. Seated Dionysus holding kantharos and thyrsus.

AR12. Squat lekythos. Ht. 24. Youth with staff and woman with phiale and thyrsus.

AR13. Skyphos. Ht. 13·7. (*a*) Woman with kantharos and thyrsus; (*b*) woman with mirror and box.

The style is rather cruder than that of the vases in the preceding group and is nearest to that of the Boston Orestes Painter (cf. also Naples 2069; Patroni, p. 151, fig. 110; Beazley, *EVP*, p. 226, no. 9). The r.f. vases from the same tomb all belong to the Asteas-Python workshop. Also by the Painter of T.64 is a vase from Contrada Andriuolo, T.10:

AR14. Skyphos. Ht. 13·5. (*a*) Woman with thyrsus; (*b*) woman with phiale and box.

Most of the new vases decorated in applied red seem to come from the Asteas-Python workshop or to be associated with it. At least one, however, may be ascribed to the later group of the Painter of Naples 1778 and it comes from a tomb (Andriuolo, T.5) in which one of his vases (A235) was found, together with three by the Floral Painter.

AR15. Stemless cup. Ht. 5·2, diam. 17. I. Woman with cista seated on tendril; palmette leaf to right. The palmette leaf is exactly similar to those which appear so frequently on this painter's r.f. vases.

The applied red style must, therefore, have flourished at Paestum between ca. 350–320, after which it seems largely to have fallen into disuse except for small vases sketchily decorated with palmette or scroll patterns.

Mention may perhaps be made here of a few late black-figured lekythoi of the so-called Pagenstecher class (see *PPSupp* p. 37) which have been found together with r.f. vases in some of the later tombs. Such vases are mostly decorated with heads or birds, but sometimes a figure appears, as on a lekythos from Tempa del Prete, T.8 (*FA* VIII, 1953, p. 130, fig. 35, centre) which depicts a running woman. Her flesh is white and her drapery black, and one thinks of similar combinations on ordinary r.f. vases in both Paestan—e.g. the Asteas cup, A4, the Boston Orestes amphora (*PP*, pl. 29, *a*)—and Campanian—e.g. the black-robed figure in front of the shrine on the AV hydria, Würzburg 874 (Langlotz, *Cat.*, pl. 250; *EAA* I, p. 935, fig. 1170). Such vases may well have provided the inspiration for the decoration of 'Pagenstecher' lekythoi; these are found extensively in both Campania and Sicily, as well as at Paestum, and were probably manufactured in all of these areas during the last third of the fourth century.

Corrigenda and Addenda to *PPSupp*

Further details or changed locations of a few vases in the catalogue of Paestan vases given on pp. 3–22 of *PPSupp* are here noted (see also *PP-s*, p. 166) :—

No. 119. Appeared without its lid on the **Basle** market at the end of 1958. Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion XVIII (29 Nov. 1958), p. 50, no. 148, pl. 46; now **Leiden** K 1959-2.1; *Oud. Med.* XL, 1959, pp. 17 ff., pl. 8 a-b.
No. 131. Now **Mannheim** Cg. 144; *CVA*, pl. 46, 3–5.
No. 154. **Mannheim**; *CVA*, pl. 46, 1–2 and 6.
No. 159. Now **Warsaw,** National Museum 147259.
No. 166. Passed into the hands of Ellen Lubszynski, **Neuilly-sur-Seine.**
No. 180. Now **Stockholm,** C. E. Galt collection.
No. 181. **Warsaw,** National Museum 138062.
No. 183. **Roman** market; Giudice Sale Cat. (7–17 Jan. 1957), no. 573, pl. 11.
No. 426. The body of the lekane has now been found (ht. of entire vase 19; diam. 26·5).
No. 497. **Naples** RC.67 (inv. 85990).
No. 513. **Naples** H.1960 (inv. 82173).

INDEXES

References are given to the numbers in the preceding lists. The following abbreviations are regularly used :—y. = youth; w. = woman; m. = maenad; s. = satyr or silen; D. = Dionysus; E. = Eros; f.h. = female head; m.h. = male head; s.h. = silen head.

1. *Index of red-figured Paestan Vases found in Tombs at Paestum*

I. Tempa del Prete (about 1 km. south of the city)

Tomb 1

1.	Lebes gamikos	F.hs.	182
2.	Neck amphora	F.hs.	173

With these were found five small terra-cotta figurines and two small black bowls decorated with white laurel pattern.

Tomb 2.

1.	Lebes gamikos	F.hs.	183
2.	Lekane	F.hs.	189

With these were found some terra-cotta figurines, an oenochoe decorated in the Gnathian style with palmettes in white and yellow, and a lekane decorated with b.f. palmettes with touches of white, as on Campanian vases of the "Kemai" class (*JHS* 1943, pp. 109 ff.).

Tomb 3

1.	Bell-krater	(*a*) Std. w. (*b*) dr. w.	208
2.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) Std. w., (*b*) y.	219
3.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	140
4.	Squat lekythos	S.h.	107

With these were found seven small plain black vases and a lekythos of 'Pagenstecher' type representing a youth and a seated woman.

Tomb 6

1.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	178

With this were found four terra-cottas, one plain black oenochoe, and one squat lekythos with network pattern.

Tomb 8. (*FA* VIII, 1953, p. 130)

1.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) D. and s., (*b*) w.	119
2.	Bottle	Es. and ww.	205
3.	Lekane	Y; thrush	91

With these were found an oenochoe in the Gnathia style with palmettes and scrolls, and a 'Pagenstecher' lekythos with a running woman.

Tomb 10. (*FA* VIII, 1953, p. 131).

1.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) W., (*b*) w.	366
2.	Cup	F.h.	170

Tomb 12 (*FA* VIII, 1953, p. 130)

1.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) w., (*b*) y.	225
2.	Bottle	F.h.	150
3.	Hydria	Y. and w.	229
4.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) w. and y., (*b*) w.	211
5.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) s., (*b*) w.	212
6.	Lekane	F.hs.	154
7.	Squat lekythos	M.h.	181

With these were found a small stamnoid vessel in the "Kemai" style, a Campanian lekane decorated with female heads in the manner of the Danaid Painter, a 'Pagenstecher' lekythos with an Adonis head, a small plate with a floral design in applied white, and seven plain vases.

Tomb 13

1.	Bottle	F.h.	207
2.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) 2 ww. at laver, (*b*) w. and y.	210
3.	Lekane	F.hs.	187
4.	Lekythos	E.	363
5.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	166
6.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	176

With these was found a Campanian hydria of the CA style (Spinazzo Group) with a woman and a seated satyr (*FA* VIII, 1953, p. 131, fig. 37).

Tomb 15

1.	Bell-krater	(*a*) y., (*b*) w.	268
2.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	179
3.	Stemless dish	F.h.	172

Tomb 16

1.	Hydria	F.h.	296
2.	Lebes gamikos	F.h.	297
3.	Lekane	F.h.	298

These vases are all by the Floral Painter and were found with four vases with white and yellow decoration in the Gnathia style (*FA* VIII, 1953, p. 130, fig. 34) and one plain black.

Tomb 25

1.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) E., (*b*) w.	69

Sporadic

1.	Hydria	F.hs.	185
2.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) y., (*b*) w.	285
3.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	160
4.	Stamnos	F.hs.	165

II. Contrada Arcioni (north-west of the Porta Aurea)

Tomb 2

1.	Lekane	F. & m. hs.	45

2.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	161
3.	Pelike	(*a*) y., (*b*) w.	125

With these were found a plain black squat lekythos and a skyphos with a white ivy decoration.

Tomb 4

1.	Squat lekythos	Std. w.	238

With it were four plain black vases.

Tomb 5

1.	Squat lekythos	Std. y.	104
2.	Skyphos	(*a*) Std. w., (*b*) f.h.	61

Tomb 9

1.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) nude y., (*b*) dr. w.	277
2.	Stemless cup	Running y.	250
3.	Fish plate	Polyp, etc.	195
4.	Squat lekythos	Std. w.	237
5.	Oenochoe	Y.	242

Tomb 10

1.	Pelike	F.hs.	217

Tomb 12

1.	Pelike	F.hs.	153

Tomb 14

1.	Oenochoe	Std. w.	242

III. Contrada Andriuolo (adjoining Contrada Laghetto, to the north-east of the Porta Aurea).

Tomb 1

1.	Bottle	W. and y.	347
2.	Lekane	W., Pan, E., etc.	342

Tomb 2

1.	Hydria	W. and y.	32
2.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) E. and w., (*b*) dr. w.	67
3.	Lekane	Y. : thrush	88

With these were found four vases with decoration in applied red (AR4–7).

Tomb 4

1.	Lekane	F.hs.	163

Tomb 5

1.	Bottle	2 ww. at laver	291
2.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) 2 ww., E., (*b*) 2 ww.	292
3.	Lekane	Orestes, etc.	293
4.	Squat lekythos	Std. w. and nude y.	235

The first three of the vases in this tomb are by the Floral Painter.

Tomb 7

1.	Hydria	Orestes and Electra	43
2.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) W., (*b*) E.	68
3.	Lekane	E., w.	85
4.	Skyphos	(*a*) E., (*b*) w.	60

With these were found three vases by the Laghetto Painter, two squat lekythoi by the same painter with figures in applied red, and three other vases in the same technique from the Asteas Group (AR1–3).

Tomb 9

1.	Stemless cup	W. and y.	245
2.	Squat lekythos	Nude y.	237

Tomb 10

1.	Neck amphora	(*a*) E., (*b*) dr. w.	117
2.	Neck amphora	(*a*) n.y., (*b*) dr. w.	110
3.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) y. & w., (*b*) E.	66
4.	Lekane	Siren : panther	92
5.	Squat lekythos	Swan	324
6.	Pelike	(*a*) E., (*b*) Std. w.	128

Also a vase with figures in applied red (AR14).

Tomb 11

1.	Pelike	(*a*) W., (*b*) Std. n.w.	126

Tomb 15

1.	Lekane	W. : std. w.	343
2.	Lekane	F.hs.	310
3.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	318

Tomb 17

1.	Squat lekythos	Y. & w. at altar	284

Tomb 18

1.	Stemless Cup	Y. and w.	280
2.	Fish plate	Cuttle, perch, etc.	197
3.	Fish plate	3 fish	201
4.	Squat lekythos	Eros and 2 ww.	364
5.	Oenochoe	Y. and w.	289

For the decoration of this tomb see Sestieri, *Riv. Ist. Arch.* V–VI, 1956–7, pp. 92 ff. He dates the tomb ca. 340 B.C. but the vases are mostly a little after that.

Tomb 19

1.	Stemless cup	W. and y.	370

Tomb 20

1.	Stemless cup	W. and y.	246
2.	Squat lekythos	Running w.	106
3.	Oenochoe	F.h.	162

Tomb 21

1.	Stemless cup	Y. and w.	371
2.	Oenochoe	F.h.	144

Tomb 23

1.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) Head of y., (*b*) f.h.	76
2.	Lekane	F.hs.	155

Tomb 27

1.	Bell-krater	(*a*) Dr. w., (*b*) w.	300
2.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	159

Tomb 28

1.	Lekane	F.hs.	360
2.	Squat lekythos	F.hs.	365

Tomb 29

1.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) Dr. w., (*b*) nude y.	109

Tomb 30

1.	Hydria	Y. and w.	231
2.	Lekane	W. : nude y.	86
3.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	157

Tomb 32a

1.	Fish plate	Torpedo, etc.	200

Tomb 33

1.	Pelike	(*a*) Draped w., (*b*) n.y.	127

Tomb 34

1.	Stemless cup	F.h.	168

Tomb 36

1.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) Std. w., (*b*) n.y.	223
2.	Oenochoe	F.h.	146

Tomb 37

1.	Squat lekythos	Swan	325

Tomb 38

1.	Lekane	F.hs.	309

Tomb 42

1.	Squat lekythos	Std. w.	102

Tomb 43

1.	Squat lekythos	Std. w.	99

Tomb 45

1.	Hydia	F.h.	184
2.	Lekane	F.hs.	311

Tomb 46

1.	Lebes gamikos	F.hs.	77

Tomb 47

1.	Hydria	Std. y.	54
2.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) Running w., (*b*) n.y.	37

Tomb 76

1.	Lekane	F.hs.	138

Tomb 80

1.	Stemless cup	F.h.	282

Tomb 81

1.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) F.h., (*b*) m.h.	301
2.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	319

Sporadic

	Squat lekythos	2 ww. and 2 yy.	234

IV. Contrada Gaudo (about 1 km. North of the Porta Aurea).

Tomb 2

1.	Fish plate	Four fish	202
2.	Squat lekythos	Orestes	3
3.	Stemless cup	E. and 2 ww.	4

This tomb is fully published and discussed by Sestieri in *Boll. d'Arte*, 1958, pp. 46–63.

Tomb 3

1.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) y. & 2 ww., (*b*) w. & y.	209
2.	Lekane	W. : E.	258
3.	Pelike	(*a*) w. & y., (*b*) w.	218
4.	Skyphos	(*a*) w. & y., (*b*) w.	256
5.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	141
6.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	142

Tomb 6

1.	Neck amphora	(*a*) W., (*b*) W.	279
2.	Stemless cup	Y. and w.	283
3.	Fish plate	4 fish	327
4.	Oenochoe	N.y. and w.	288

The walls of this tomb were painted (*Arch. Reps. 1957*, p. 38) and the contents included in addition to the r.f. vases a large bronze bowl and situla.

Tomb 7

1.	Oenochoe	Y. and w.	241
2.	Squat lekythos	Std. w.	239

Tomb 8

1.	Askos	Nude yy.	253
2.	Hydria	Y. and w.	232
3.	Oenochoe	N.y.	243
4.	Pelike	(*a*) E., (*b*) w.	130
5.	Skyphos	(*a*) W., (*b*) n.y.	257

Tomb 10

1.	Neck amphora	(*a*) W., (*b*) w.	227
2.	Stemless cup	W. & y.	247
3.	Stemless cup	W. & n.y.	59
4.	Stemless cup	Std. w.	249

5.	Fish plate	Three fish	196
6.	Lekane	E./swan	259
7.	Oenochoe	W. & n.y.	240
8.	Squat lekythos	W. & y.	233

This tomb contained a quantity of bronze armour (helmet, cuirass, greaves and two girdles) together with a pointed amphora, on which were traces of painting (cf. the similar vase found in T.2; *Boll. d'Arte* 1958, p. 48, fig. 2).

Tomb 11

1.	Neck amphora	(*a*) N.y. & w., (*b*) n.y.	24
2.	Fish plate	Three fish	198
3.	Oenochoe	D. & s.	28
4.	Oenochoe	Swan	326
5.	Skyphos	(*a*) S., (*b*) w.	64
6.	Skyphos	(*a*) S., (*b*) y	65

This tomb has paintings only on the north and south sides. They are ill-preserved and depict two bigae and a combat scene respectively.

Tomb 12

1.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) 2 Ww., (*b*) w.	67 bis
2.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) Std. w., (*b*) n.y.	74
3.	Lekane	W./E.	84

Tomb 14

1.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) S., (*b*) w.	115

Tomb 14a

1.	Squat lekythos	Std. w.	101

Tomb 19

1.	Stemless cup	Std. w.	248

V. Contrada Laghetto (E. of Contrada Andriuolo, north of the city)

Tomb 1

1.	Neck amphora	(*a*) W., (*b*) y.	220
2.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	151

Tomb 3

1.	Oenochoe	Y. & w.	290

For the decoration of this tomb see Sestieri *Riv. Ist. Arch.* V–VI, 1956–7, pp. 67–73.

Tomb 5 (discovered 24 July 1956)

1.	Neck amphora	(*a*) Std. w., (*b*) y.	224
2.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) Nude y., (*b*) std. w.	213
3.	Squat lekythos	Dr. w.	103
4.	Skyphos	(*a*) W., (*b*) y.	255

Tomb 8

1.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) W., (*b*) y.	72

Tomb 10

1.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) N.y., (*b*) w.	73

Tomb 17

1.	Stemless cup	F.h.	171

Tomb 19

1.	Neck amphora	F.hs.	143

Tomb 22

1.	Lebes gamikos	(*a*) S., (*b*) dr. w.	70
2.	Squat lekythos	Std. w.	100

With these came two vases with decoration in applied red (AR8–9).

Tomb 23

1.	Squat lekythos	Thrush	322

Tomb 24

1.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	158
2.	Oenochoe	F.h.	145

With these came a hydria by the Caivano Painter showing a running satyr.

Tomb 30

1.	Stemless cup	Std. y.	252

Tomb 59

1.	Neck-amphora	F.hs.	174

Tomb 63

1.	Lebes gamikos	F.hs.	139
2.	Lebes gamikos	F.hs.	305

Tomb 64

1.	Calyx-krater	(*a*) W. & s., (*b*) 2 d.y.	22
2.	Fish plate	Three fish	199
3.	Lekane	Y. : thrush	89
4.	Oenochoe	Y.	121

For the paintings in this tomb see *Riv. Ist. Arch.* V–VI, 1956–7, pp. 79–84. The contents included three vases in the applied red technique (AR11–13).

Tomb 65

1.	Calyx-krater	(*a*) and (*b*) Running w.	275
2.	Squat lekythos	Swan	323

Tomb 66

1.	Neck-amphora	(*a*) Dr. w., (*b*) nude y.	276

Tomb 67

1.	Squat lekythos	F.h.	177

Tomb 76

1. Neck-amphora (*a*) Y., (*b*) std. w. 226

Tomb 91

1. Lebes gamikos (*a*) Std. w., (*b*) w. 71

Tomb 94

1. Squat lekythos Y. 46

Also a cup in the applied red technique (AR10).

Tomb 120

1. Neck-amphora (*a*) Std. w., (*b*) nude y. 222
2. Neck-amphora (*a*) n.y., (*b*) std. w. 111
3. Bell-krater (*a*) n.y., (*b*) std. w. 267
4. Squat lekythos F.h. 320

VI. Fuscillo—Contrada Visceglia (South-east of the city)

Tomb 2

1. Squat lekythos Nude y. 105

Tomb 14

1. Bottle E. & w. 295
2. Lebes gamikos (*a*) F.h.,(*b*) m.h. 80
3. Lekane F.hs. 188
4. Lekane F.hs. 299

2. *Index of Red-figured Vases in the Museo Nazionale, Paestum*

NF = New Finds, from Catalogue in *PP-s*, pp. 160 ff.
And = Contrada Andriuolo (followed by Tomb number)
Arc = Contrada Arcioni (followed by Tomb number)
CG = Contrada Gaudo (followed by Tomb number)
CL = Contrada Laghetto (followed by Tomb number)
F = Fuscillo (Contrada Visceglia) (followed by Tomb number)
TP = Tempa del Prete (followed by Tomb number)
Sp = Sporadic find

Alabastron

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Neck-amphorae

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17 CL 66 276
18 CL 76 226
19 CL 120 111
20 CL 120 222
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28 Spinazzo 221

Neck-amphorae (frr.)

29 Case 33 332
30 NF 3 10
31 NF 30 228

Fragments (? neck amphorae or lebetes gamikoi)

32 Basement 368
33 Basement 369

Askos (ring)

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49 NF 36 206
50 And 1 347
51 And 5 291

52 TP 8 205
53 TP 12 150
54 TP 13 207
55 F 14 295

Spouted bottle

56 Case 47 356

Cups (stemless)

57 NF 21 (fr.) 133
58 And 9 245
59 And 18 280
60 And 19 370
61 And 20 246
62 And 21 371
63 And 34 168
64 And 80 282
65 Arc 9 250
66 CG 2 4
67 CG 6 283
68 CG 10 59
69 CG 10 247
70 CG 10 249
71 CG 19 248
72 CL 17 171
73 CL 30 252
74 TP 10 170
75 TP 15 172
76 Spinazzo 169
77 Spinazzo 251

Fish-plates

78 And 18 197
79 And 18 201
80 And 32a 200
81 Arc 9 195
82 CG 2 202
83 CG 6 327
84 CG 10 196
85 CG 11 198
86 CL 64 199
87 Fravita 191

Hydriai

88 NF 4 29
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90 And 2 32
91 And 7 43
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93 And 45 184
94 And 47 54
95 Arc 4 230
96 CG 8 232
97 TP 12 229
98 TP 16 296
99 TP Sp. 185

Kantharos

100 NF 50 329

Bell-kraters

101 And 27 300
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103 TP 3 208
104 TP 15 268

Calyx-kraters

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110 NF 7 34
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130 And 46 77
131 And 47 37
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141 CL 91 71
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145 TP 12 212
146 TP 13 210
147 TP 16 297
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173 CL 64 89
174 TP 2 189
175 TP 8 91
176 TP 12 154
177 TP 13 187
178 TP 16 298
179 F 14 188
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Lekane lids

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183 NF 14 94
184 NF 15 95
185 NF 16 96
186 NF 17 97
187 NF 18 98
188 NF 33 260
189 NF 34 261
190 NF 35 262
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Lekythos

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253 CG 10 240
254 CG 11 28
255 CG 11 326
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Tatefield Hall (nr. Harrogate)—Kent Coll.

83. Hydria 57
84. Skyphos 379 63
85. Skyphos 702 62

Turin—Museo d'Arte Antica

86. Bell-krater 4596 273
87. Bell-krater 4697 272
88. Bell-krater 274
89. Lekane 2810 90

Warsaw—National Museum

90. Bell-krater 147150 51

Woburn Abbey—Duke of Bedford

91. Bell-krater 16
92. Bell-krater 19

A. D. Trendall

EXCAVATIONS BESIDE THE NORTH-WEST GATE AT VEII, 1957-58

(Plates VIII—XX, XXIX—XXXI)

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PART 1: THE STRUCTURES

The excavations here described were undertaken by the British School at Rome on behalf of the Superintendency of Antiquities for Southern Etruria, through the courtesy of its Superintendent, Professor Renato Bartoccini, who has done so much to foster active archaeological research within an area that is undergoing drastic and archaeologically disastrous change, and with the active and cordial collaboration of his staff. The purpose of the excavations was the strictly limited one of examining, while there was yet time, one of the few remaining stretches of the defences of Veii where ploughing in recent years had revealed (and is now rapidly destroying) substantial remains of the ancient walls. In the course of the work such other features as came to light were examined and recorded so far as this limited purpose permitted; but no attempt was, or could be, made to follow up the larger implications of these discoveries, which must await another occasion and other hands.

The work was undertaken in two short campaigns, each of between two and four weeks' duration. The first of these, in November and December 1957, was hampered by the ravages of Asian influenza, the work of supervision being shared in succession by Mrs. Selina Tomlin (now Mrs. Ballance), Mr. Guy Duncan and Mr. Michael Ballance; and it is greatly to their credit that, despite these difficulties, a satisfactory and coherent result was obtained. The second campaign took place in October-November 1958, and was supervised throughout by Mrs. P. W. Murray Threipland. Both in the field and the work-room a great deal of volunteer help was received both from students of the School and from friends and visitors, outstanding among the latter being Mrs. Anne Kahane and Mrs. Betty Eastwood and, during the second campaign, Mr. Eric Gray. The general survey is the work of Mr. Ballance; the detailed surveys and sections that of Mrs. Tomlin in 1957, and

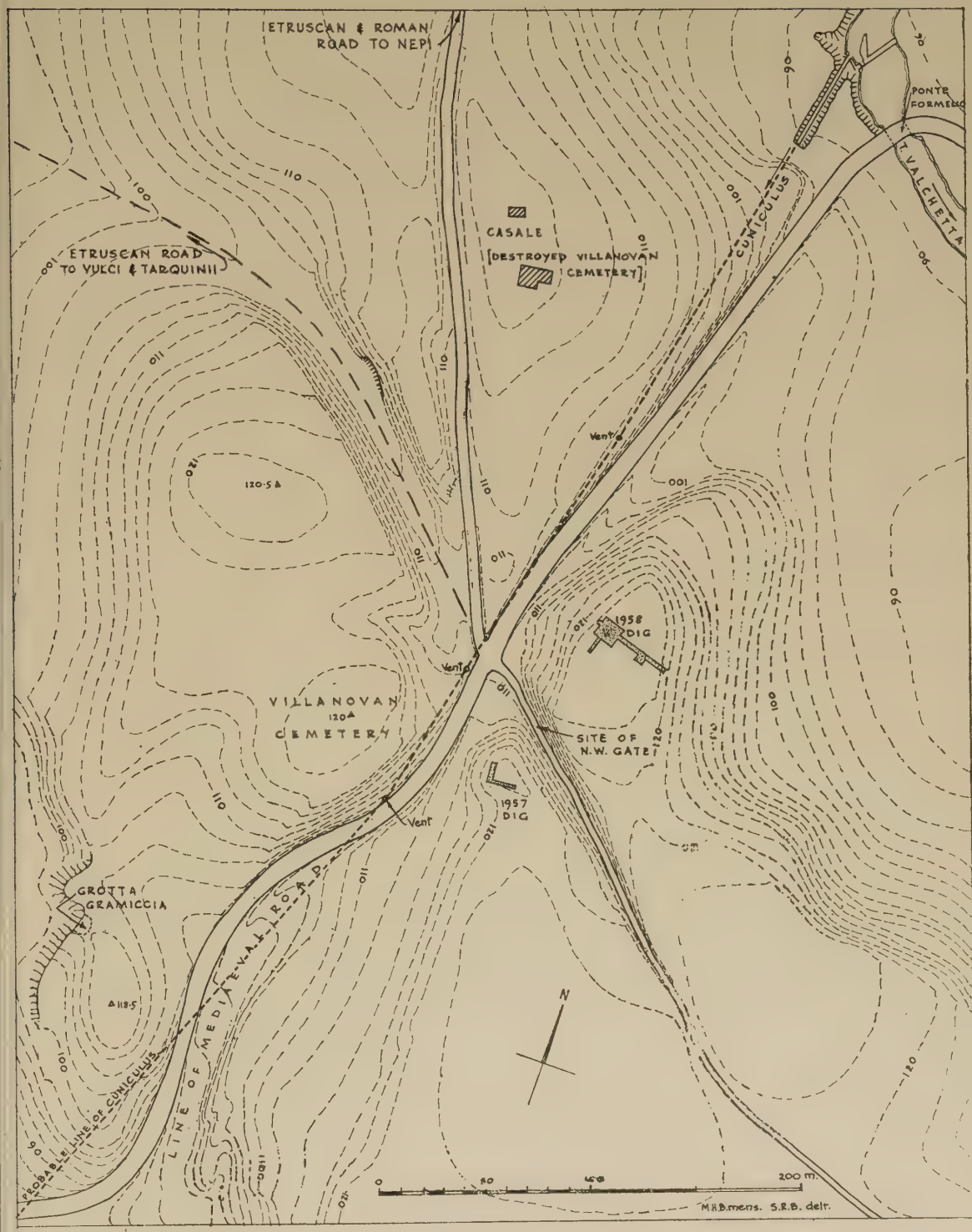
ETRUSCAN & ROMAN ROAD TO NEPI
PONTE FORMELLO
VALCHETTA
CUNICULUS
CASALE
[DESTROYED VILLANOVAN CEMETERY]
ETRUSCAN ROAD TO VULCI & TARQUINII
120·5 A
Vent
1958 DIG
VILLANOVAN 120A CEMETERY
SITE OF N.W. GATE
1957 DIG
GROTTA GRAMICCIA
A 118·5
LINE OF MEDIEVAL ROAD
PROBABLE LINE OF CUNICULUS
N
0
80
160
200 m.
M.H.B. mens. S.R.D. delr.

FIG. 1.

of Mrs. Murray Threipland, assisted by Mrs. Alfred Rigby, in 1958. A special word of praise is due to the small but extremely competent and hard-working group of workmen from Isola Farnese, under the guidance of Signor Giovanni Zaccagnino, who was lent for the purpose by the Superintendency. The work was financed out of a generous grant made by the Russell Trust, through Mr. David Russell.

The two sites selected for examination lie on either side of the north-west gate of the ancient city (fig. 1). At this point the broad promontory of level ground which housed the Etruscan city narrowed to a neck less than 200 m. wide across the crest, bounded on the east by the Fosso di Formello (Torrente Valchetta, the ancient R. Cremera) and on the west by the Fosso Piordo (or Fosso della Mola) and its tributaries. This was the only point at which it was possible to approach the city along relatively level ground, and on it there converged two of the principal roads that linked it with the other major inhabited centres of Etruria. The roads, which met just outside the gate, are still plain to see (pls. VIII, IX), the one striking northwards along the ridge towards Nepi (Nepet) and the western Ager Faliscus and, through Sutri (Sutrium), up into central Etruria, the other bearing north-westwards towards the southern end of Lake Bracciano, and thence on towards Tarquinii and Vulci. In peace and war alike this was the one natural approach to the site. Around the whole of the rest of the circuit it was only by means of deep and easily defended cuttings that roads capable of carrying wheeled traffic could be brought up through the steeply-shelving cliffs that encircled the town. Here if anywhere, then, one might hope to find traces of the best work of which the Etruscan military engineers were capable; and since there can be no doubt that, at any rate in military terms, Rome's destruction of Veii was absolute, there seemed to be every likelihood of obtaining, for a modest outlay of both money and effort, a valuable reference-point for the dating of similar military works on other sites.

The excavations were undertaken with this limited and specific purpose. It was inevitable that, in the course of the work, other and unexpected problems should arise; and, given the limited nature of the excavations, it was no less inevitable that the answers to some of these problems should have eluded us. They must await further exploration on some future occasion. In the meantime it has seemed useful to present without delay a full account of the results already obtained.

Part II (the pottery and other finds, by Mrs. Murray Threipland) will, it is hoped, be ready for inclusion in volume XXVIII or XXIX of these *Papers*.

I. THE FIRST SEASON (NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1957) (pls. XI, XII, XXIX)

The site selected for examination in 1957 overlooks the modern road from the Via Cassia to Formello just before it tops the crest of the ridge, immediately outside the north-west gate of Veii. At this point the modern road is exactly following the line of its medieval predecessor, cutting obliquely across the neck of the promontory at a point where there is now a saddle of lower ground, into which the road has been further trenched to afford an easier gradient. This saddle is in part a natural

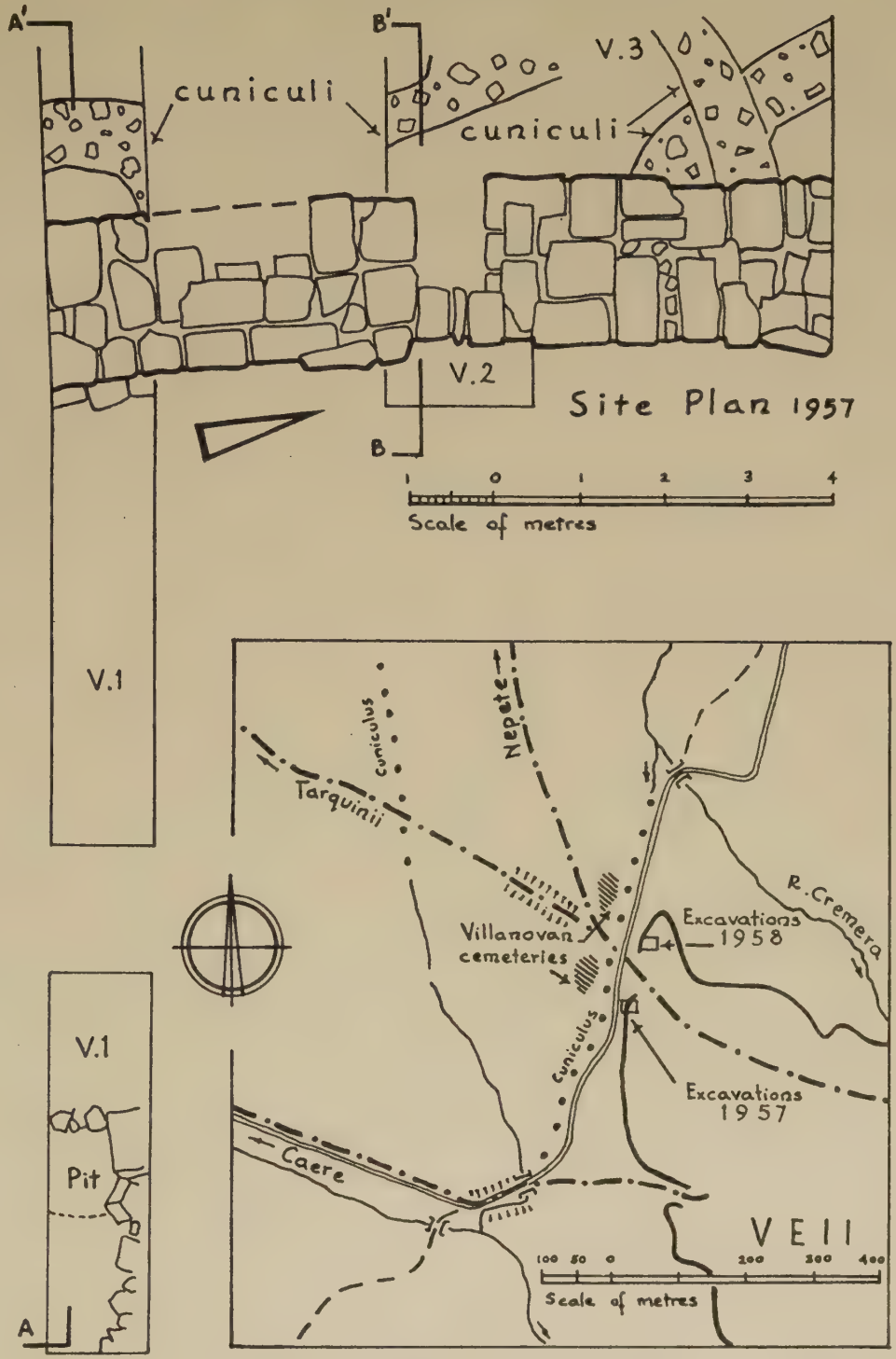

FIG. 2. EXCAVATIONS OF 1957: SITE PLAN

feature; but there is no doubt that it has also in places been widened and deepened, and it was as much a part of the ancient defences as the ramparts above it. These followed a line running almost due north and south along the edge of a ridge of higher ground which rises sharply to the right of the modern road (pl. X, *a*). Here and there along this line blocks of squared tufa masonry can be seen, lying beside the plough or tumbled down the steep slopes below; and, trenched through it, the course of the ancient road is marked by a deep V-shaped cutting, which leads gently up on to the open ground within the city.

Of the gate itself there is nothing now to be seen. Some parts of it may still lie buried beneath the thick scrub that covers the slopes of the cutting; but this is by no means certain, since the cutting has certainly been deepened and probably also widened since antiquity. Traces of quite recent metalling can be seen in section well above the present road-surface all along the lower part, and towards the top of the cutting the edge of the Roman-period paving is exposed in the north bank, dropping towards the lower ground at a noticeably more gentle angle than that of the present track. It was not, in any case, with the gate itself that the excavation was concerned, but with the defences on either side of it; and here a narrow strip of *macchia* between the road-cutting and the plough afforded an opportunity of examining a stretch of wall which had certainly been heavily robbed, but which, unlike all the rest, had never been deep-ploughed.

The method adopted was to cut a section (Trench V1), 1.50 m. wide, at right-angles to the presumed line of the wall, and within it to record all finds three-dimensionally, in terms of distance along, distance out from, and depth below a horizontal datum line (fig. 2). Once the wall-face had been located, a similar but shorter section (Trench V2) was cut immediately to the north of the first in order to confirm the relationship observed between the wall and the earthen rampart of which it was a part; and finally north of this again, yet another section (V3) was cut against the face of the wall, the three trenches along the front being subsequently united to expose a continuous stretch of wall-face nearly 10 m. long.

The structures revealed by these trenches, though in detail they were complex and presented a number of features that would have needed a great deal of further work to explain fully, were in their broad lines extremely simple, comprising as they did the work of only two significant periods, namely a series of pits and *cuniculi*, which antedate the defences, and, overlying these earlier features, the remains of a very large rampart of earth and stones, within which, and contemporary with which, were the footings of a wall of massive, roughly squared, tufa blocks. With the exception of a small area of superficial disturbance, the tips comprising this rampart were all certainly ancient, and, as the excavation of 1958 confirmed, there can be little doubt that the whole rampart is of one build and date. Before discussing this and other points of interpretation, however, it will be well to describe the principal surviving features, as they presented themselves during excavation.

Geologically the Veii plateau consists of a number of superimposed horizontal beds, all of volcanic origin, but comprising a bewildering range of tufas, ashes and claylike deposits. One of the first problems facing the excavator is that of determining the exact nature of the undisturbed soil within any given plot of ground.

Within the section cut in 1957 there was the added difficulty that bedrock, a stiff, deep brown, claylike *pozzolana* ('clay'), was not found at the level seemingly indicated by the contours of the plateau and confidently predicted by the workmen, but at a depth of no less than 3 m. below the present surface. Immediately beneath and in front of the wall the natural clay was capped with a very thin layer of tufa (pl. XI, *a*); but this was an artificial feature, the dust and chips trampled into the surface by the workmen engaged on building the wall. When still damp the clay can be cut with a pick or spade, but it soon dries and is remarkably compact. Only where it had been disturbed by trenching or tunnelling were there any signs of subsidence in the levels resting upon it.

Of such disturbance the most troublesome had evidently been a series of *cuniculi* found beneath and in front of the wall. The best-preserved of these curved obliquely across trench V1, disappearing under the wall in the angle of the trench (pl. XI, *b*). It was of the familiar arched form, just under 1 m. wide and 1.50 m. high, and the top had been broken in and its interior filled with a tight packing of stones. No less than three others were found in V2 and V3, two of them (in V3) intersecting and being presumably, therefore, of different dates. All three had been truncated when the rampart was built, and all were found packed with stones and earth; where two of them underlie the wall close together, in V3, the packing cannot have been tightly enough rammed, and the wall itself has settled. In the packing of these *cuniculi* were found a certain number of sherds, which provide a valuable *terminus post quem* for the building of walls and rampart.

In the limited stretch of natural soil exposed behind the rampart there were no *cuniculi*, but there was a substantial deposit of occupation-material, sealed beneath the rampart at a depth of from 2.60–3.90 m. below the present surface. Owing to the depth and intractable character of the overlying tips of stones and earth only a short stretch of this could be exposed, but from this it was clear that one was dealing with undisturbed layers of occupation-deposit, the remains presumably of a hut or huts. In this deposit could be distinguished at least two layers (pl. XXIX, AA′–3 and 4; 2 appears to be a pit within 3), which presumably represent successive phases, although the pottery from them is virtually indistinguishable; and at the west of the trench there was a pit, and at the east end a depression, both of which were homogeneous in fill with the lower of the two occupation-layers. It is possible that a line of stones along the north edge of layer 4 may be the remains of some structures associated with this level; they certainly did form a very clear and definite line of demarcation along this side (pl. XII, *c*), and were bedded well down into this upper layer of occupation-deposit. On the other hand the line coincides suspiciously closely with that of the edge of one of the massive tips of boulders and smaller stones incorporated within the rampart (see below), and it may be no more than the bottom of this tip squeezed down into the softer earth beneath. It would need further excavation to resolve this point, and to ascertain whether the occupation-deposit was associated with post-holes or any other recognisable remains of huts. For the present, the principal interest of this deposit must remain its relation to the overlying rampart.

The rampart and walls rested directly upon these earlier features and upon the natural subsoil, without any intervening layer of humus or of occupation-

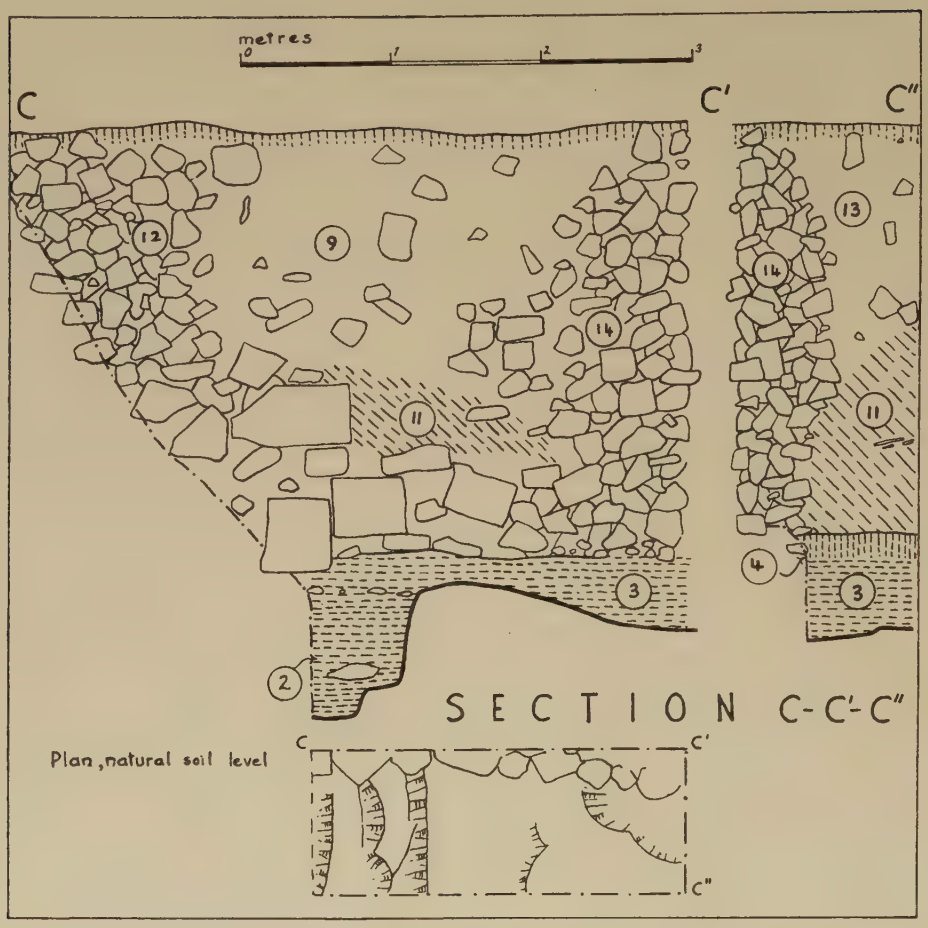

Fig. 3. Excavations of 1957: East End of Trench V1, North and East Faces
(for key, see pp. 73-4)

material other than the very thin layer of trampled tufa already noted in the immediate vicinity of the wall. The first thing that the builders of the rampart did was evidently to level off the whole site, truncating the *cuniculi* and removing all superficial deposits down to a uniform level. Presumably they feared subsidence unless the *cuniculi* were very carefully filled in and this rather drastic procedure was probably in the long run the simplest and most effective way of ensuring a stable foundation.[1] For the excavator it means that whereas the filling of the *cuniculi* may well contain sherds contemporary with the building of the walls, the occupation-deposits beneath the rampart may, in theory at any rate, be of quite considerably earlier date than the rampart itself, the upper levels having been shaved off when the rampart was built.

[1] Despite these precautions, the wall footings did in fact settle badly into the filling of the *cuniculi* in V3; see pls. XI, *c* and XXIX.

The wall, the face of which was found to be preserved to a height of from three to four courses (1.35–1.80 m.) and the back to a maximum height of six courses (2.65 m., in trench V2), proved to be a solidly but irregularly built structure of squared tufa blocks, laid in roughly horizontal courses. There is no regular bond, the majority of the blocks being laid as headers; and although the jointing between one block and the next is mostly fairly accurate, particularly that between adjacent header-blocks, no attempt whatever has been made to dress either face of the wall to a regular surface. Of the two faces the outer (pl. XI, *a*, *c*) is the better and, although the dressing of the individual blocks is extremly coarse, it might, in default of specific evidence to the contrary, be thought to have been an exposed wall-face of a rather primitive character. The inner face is much rougher, so that in trench V1, for example, there is a difference of 23 cm. between the minimum (1.99 m.) and the maximum (2.22 m.) thickness of successive courses; this face at any rate could never have been free-standing. An interesting feature of the masonry is that throughout the wall any irregularities in the jointing were met by bedding each successive course in a layer of soil, which in this respect served as a primitive substitute for mortar. That this soil was placed there by the builders and not by the subsequent action of roots seems to be clearly established by its uniform spread throughout the wall. Moreover, few of the present-day roots penetrate more than a single course; elsewhere within the wall there are few roots and very little decomposed organic matter, in sharp contrast to the evident traces of roots found in the adjoining tips of the rampart.

The explanation of the curiously summary character of the wall is immediately apparent when one examines its relation to the rampart. The latter is for the most part extremely mixed in character, but the fill immediately adjoining the wall on both faces was found to consist uniformly of loose, powdery, white rubble, lying right up against the two wall-faces and sloping away from them in well-marked tips. The tips immediately in front of the wall were rather more compact (perhaps because nearer to the surface), but otherwise they closely resembled those behind. The character of the latter was particularly clear immediately behind the wall in trench V2, where, furthermore, the principal tip-lines could be seen to coincide with the coursing of the wall. This loose, white rubble is, in fact, the smashed debris from the dressing of the tufa blocks that were used to build the wall. As each course was dressed and laid the nucleus of the rampart rose with it. The very rough build of the wall is explained by the fact that the surviving part of it was never intended to be a visible, free-standing structure; it was an internal feature, designed to carry a visible superstructure that is now destroyed.

That there was a bank in front of the wall as well as behind it may be felt to require further demonstration, since the masonry of the wall-face, though poor, is certainly better in front than it is behind, and since the depth of undisturbed soil is less and the tips not so clearly defined. Fortunately graphic confirmation of this was forthcoming in trench V2, where the line of the wall was found to be interrupted by a curious, and at first sight very puzzling feature,. The few surviving blocks of the sixth course were continuous, but below this level the masonry was interrupted to form a narrow and extremely irregular opening (pl. XII, *a*, *b*). That this could have been a small subsidiary gate or postern is absolutely to be

excluded; the two sides of the opening are so rough that they could never have been free-standing (it was only possible to clear the opening by underpinning and cross-bracing some of the more dangerously projecting blocks, and by leaving the face of the lowest course unexcavated); and the surviving blocks of the sixth course were found resting directly on the filling, and would not have stood for a moment without it. Furthermore, the soil within the opening was found to consist of precisely the same loose, white rubble as the tips in front of and behind the wall, and careful clearance showed that the tip-lines were continuous with those of the rampart behind, running right through the opening, and spilling out over the level ground in front and down into the top of the packing of the *cuniculus*. At this point there could be no possible doubt that the tips in front of and behind the wall were contemporary, and that, at least up to the level to which it is now preserved, the wall itself was internal to the rampart, not a facing to it. The opening was presumably a temporary passage-way, left for the convenience of the workmen during the earlier stages of the work, and gradually closed as the level of wall and rampart rose on either side of it.

So far the evidence of trenches V1 and V2 is clear and explicit. What happened above and behind the nucleus constituted by the wall and by the tips directly behind it, is less immediately obvious. Immediately overlying the main mass of loose tufa rubble was a sloping tip of compact, brown clay (pl. XXIX, AA′–8), which contained a good deal of pottery and charcoal. This and other tips of similar material (notably 11, towards the tail of the trench) presumably represent the throw-up from destroyed occupation-deposits, mixed with the clay subsoil on which those deposits had rested; and, quite apart from their importance for the chronology of the rampart, they offer one of the few tangible clues to the interpretation of the tangled masses of earth and stones of which most of the rest of the rampart is composed. These in themselves are extremely difficult to interpret, one tip of stones merging imperceptibly into another and, hardly less imperceptibly, into the stones and boulders of the adjoining earthen tips. Seen, however, in longitudinal section in relation to the distinctive tips of clay and occupation debris, there can be little doubt that over the greater part of the section exposed the over-all bedding of the rampart continues to conform to the general line of the tips immediately behind the wall, sloping gently downwards from west to east. It does not follow, however, that the rampart was made up of a uniform and consistent series of such tips. Even within the narrow space of a single trench there is considerable variety between the sections exposed along the two faces, the rear part of V1 (pl. XII, *c* cf. fig. 3) offering a very extreme case of this lateral complexity. The picture presented by the excavation is, rather, that of a series of individual deposits of very varied material, dumped haphazard down the rear slopes of a steadily rising mound of earth, clay, stones and boulders. Whether any of the piles of almost solid stone contained within this mound had any specific function in relation to the rampart as a whole, it is hard to say. One such pile filled the middle of the trench almost up to surface level and had to be left unexcavated; another, or an extension of the same, spread along the north face of the rear part of the trench, forming an almost vertical line of division between it and the tips of earth, clay and stones which made up the other half of the trench. Without a great deal of costly and laborious

excavation, there is really no means of telling whether these enormous piles of stones had any structural significance, or whether they are the random result of raising a very large rampart haphazard with whatever materials came to hand.[2]

An interesting feature of this part of the rampart is that it contained a number of squared blocks and at least two with recognisable mouldings. When it was built, there were already monumental stone buildings within the city of Veii.

Apart from the shallow layer of top-soil and the indeterminate but clearly quite considerable action of roots, there was little or nothing to suggest that any of the deposits exposed in section post-date the construction of the main rampart. At one point, about 3 m. back from the rear face of the wall, a pocket of tiles at a depth of 60 m. below the surface suggested the possibility of a later pit dug into the surface,[3] and as a precautionary measure all sherds found above this point have been excluded in considering the date of the rampart. Otherwise, there was nothing in the stratigraphy to suggest later disturbance, nor was there any obvious distinction in the character of the sherds from the top and the bottom of the trench. In particular, there was absolutely no trace of any line consistent enough along and across the trench to be identified as the ancient surface-line of the rampart. On the evidence at present available it certainly looks as if the rampart was a very large one, the tail lying well outside the limits of the relatively small area examined. This, it may be added, is the impression conveyed by the superficial contours, particularly when the rampart is viewed from the east, across the shallow dip that separates it from the main plateau within the city (see further below, p. 78); and it finds ample confirmation in the results of the excavation of 1958.

II. THE SECOND SEASON (OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1958)
(Pls. XIII—XX, XXX—XXXI)

Immediately to the north of the site of the north-west gate, the line of the ancient defences continues along the western edge of a promontory of higher ground, which projects northwards from the main plateau, overlooking and flanking the Formello road at the point where it drops steeply down to the Ponte Formello (pl. X, *a*). This, as the excavations of 1957 had suggested and as those of 1958 went far to confirm, was originally an independent, rounded knoll, closely comparable to those that constitute the Grotta Gramiccia cemetery, and, like them, partly detached from and overlooking the road that marks the line of the axis of the main ridge. The present contours linking this feature with the main city-plateau are to a large extent artificial, and are the result of engineering works undertaken by the Etruscans in order to bring this knoll within the circuit of the walls, thereby gaining height and command for the defences at a particularly vulnerable point. (See p. 77.)

As on the south side of the gate, the whole top of the plateau to the north of it is now cultivated, and already before excavation the line of the wall could be followed as a scatter of blocks of squared tufa ploughed out along the western edge. At one

[2] The fact that the rampart immediately to the north of the gate contained similar piles of stone (see p. 77) suggests that they were in fact deliberate.

[3] These tiles, which were found in the middle of the trench, do not appear in the published section, pl. XXIX, AA′.

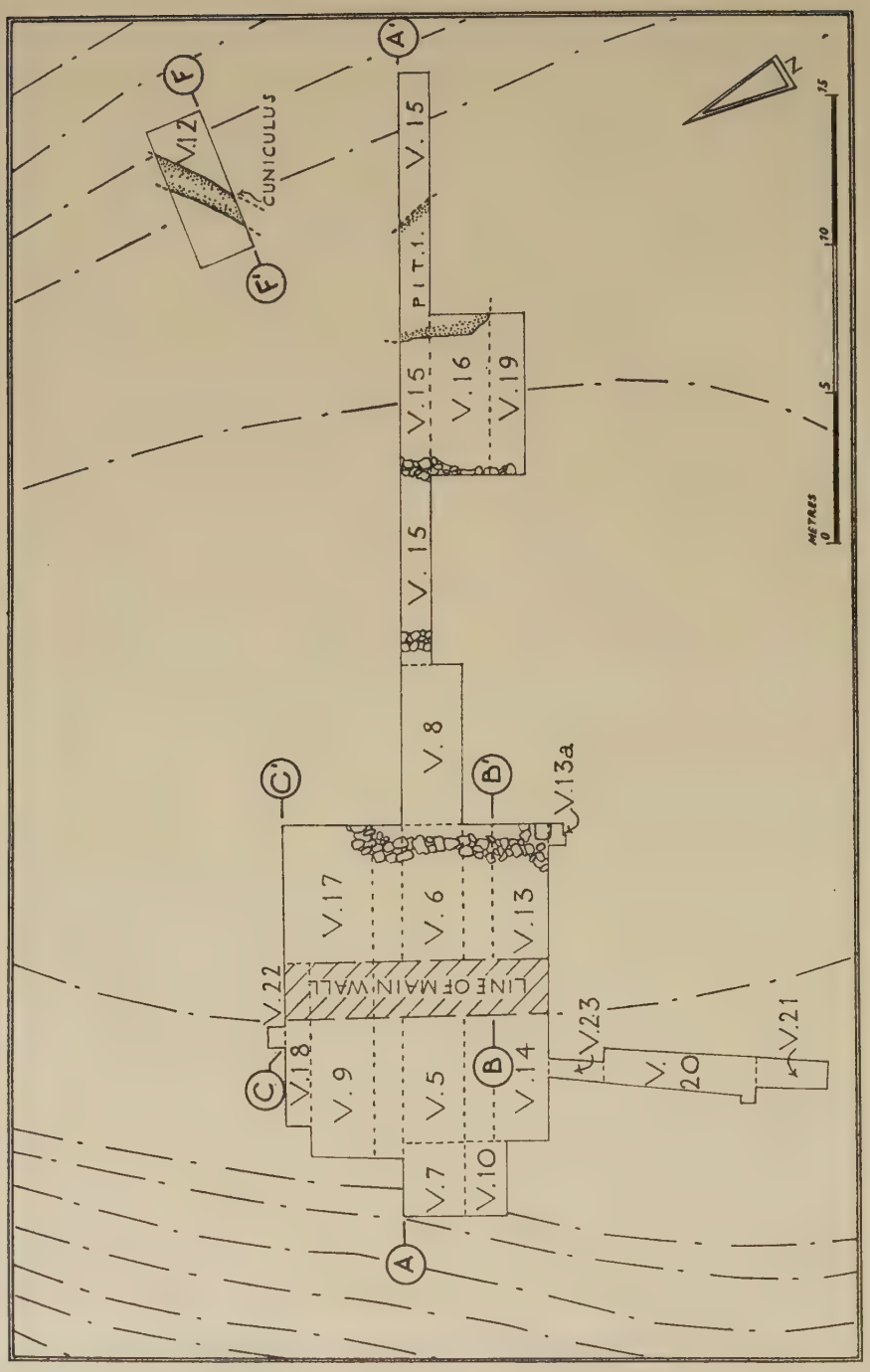

FIG. 4. EXCAVATIONS OF 1958: PLAN OF TRENCHES

point along this line, about 60 m. from the gate and 40 m. from the northern end of the spur, a few blocks could be seen still in place, and a distinct, though annually diminishing, ridge in the plough showed that others were probably in place on either side of it. This seemed a good place at which to look for confirmation of the features observed during the previous excavations. Moreover, it seemed likely that the natural ground-level would be found to be nearer the surface, thus offering a better chance of finding and opening up the remains of earlier structures.

The method adopted was similar to that of the preceeding year (fig. 4). A pilot trench, 2 m. wide (V5–V6–V8), was cut at right-angles to the line of the wall, across the line of the presumed rampart. This was later extended, at a reduced width of 1 m. (V15), right through to the far (north-eastern) edge of the plateau. At two points along this line, the first comprising the whole area immediately in front of and behind the wall, and the second a more restricted area some 18 m. back from the face of the wall, the pilot trench revealed elaborate traces of earlier structures, and these two areas were accordingly further opened up; the first of them, in both directions (V9 and V17 to the north, and V14 and V13 to the south, in all some 100 sq. m.), the second on a smaller scale, towards the south only (V16 and V19, a total area of about 22 sq. m.). In addition to these principal trenches, several smaller adjacent areas were cleared in front of the wall (V7, V10, V18, V20–23), and an independent section, 2 m. wide (V12) was cut into the brow of the north-east edge of the plateau a short distance to the north of the main section.

As had been foreseen, the undisturbed natural surface was found at a much shallower level than in the trenches of the previous year, being nowhere more than 1.40 m. below the level of the present surface. The former was found to consist of a horizontal capping of hard, granular tufa, bedded upon a layer of stiff, chocolate-coloured, clay-like *pozzolana*, which, at the only point examined in depth (in V12), was found to rest in turn upon another layer of similar tufa, followed by another layer of the same chocolate-coloured *pozzolana*. It was doubtless the weather-resisting properties of the tufa capping which had in the first instance dictated the natural contours of the low knoll along the edge of which the fortifications are sited; and except at the far end of trench V15, where the underlying clay is exposed, it constituted the natural surface over the whole area excavated.

Resting on or cut into this tufa surface were found the remains of a number of structures, covering a range of several centuries and a variety of different types of building. Of these, the latest and most readily identifiable were those of a wall and rampart, coeval with, and substantially similar in construction to, that excavated in 1957. Underlying the rampart, and evidently destroyed by its builders, were the stone footings of a substantial rectangular building (the 'Rectangular Stone Building'), which had itself replaced a timber structure (the 'Rectangular Timber Building'), built on the same general lines and occupying almost exactly the same plot of ground. This in turn was found to overlie the post-holes and gullies of yet earlier timber structures, which themselves represent the work of more than one period, but which, within the area excavated, were too fragmentary to yield any coherent plan.

In addition to these features, all of which could be directly or indirectly related to the rampart and wall, there were also a certain number of other features lying beyond the tail of the rampart in the eastern part of the area excavated. Here the correlation of the successive phases was harder to determine, particularly since it is evident that several of the most distinctive of the associated levels had been redeposited from elsewhere.

For clarity and simplicity of description, the individual structures are here discussed separately. For the detailed stratigraphical correlation of the successive structures, and for other details of the individual trenches, see the notes at the end of this section (pp. 73–76).

1. *Timber Structures Belonging to the Earliest Phase* (figs. 5, 6 *a*)

Cut into the tufa in front of, beneath, and immediately behind the wall are a number of post-holes and gullies, which together constitute evidence of an occupation of the site covering a considerable period of time and comprising several successive phases. The detailed interpretation of these remains is not at all easy, since in almost every case the associated occupation-levels have been destroyed. All that is left to help in disentangling the successive layers of the palimpsest is the occasional superimposition of one feature upon another, together with such patterns as may appear to be distinguishable within the whole complex (fig. 5; cf. fig. 6).

The reason for the disappearance of the associated occupation-levels is one familiar to all excavators of hill-top sites. Rather than build up, there is a natural and persistent tendency to level down, and it is evident that the builders of the rampart wall were not the first to clear down to bedrock, and in places even to cut down into the bedrock, in order to secure a level platform for their own work. In the area later covered by the lime-kiln, for example, they certainly found the rock already levelled and a thin deposit of soil and sherds accumulated here and there upon the new surface; and this levelling almost certainly dates back to the erection of the first major structure to occupy the site, the rectangular timber building which is described in the next section.

One of the victims of this early levelling operation was a large curvilinear building, or enclosure, the most determinate surviving feature of which is a gully (G1a) cut into the rock surface in front of the later rampart wall, a short distance from the steeply-plunging edge of the hillside. Where it is best preserved it is about 16 cm. wide and 12–14 cm. deep, and the curve is an almost exact circle of just under 4 m. in diameter. As it approaches the line of the outer wall of the rectangular building, the gully becomes rapidly shallower, until it virtually disappears, the original surface of the rock having been cut away by the later builders. Beyond it the line is picked up again for a short distance, and then vanishes altogether just before it is cut by the pit in the centre of the lime-kiln. This second stretch (G1b) is markedly straighter than the first, showing that the building was at this point elliptical rather than circular in plan. The surface of the rock within the cutting is quite rough, suggesting that it never stood open; and on the analogy of the gullies associated with the Rectangular Timber Building, it seems reasonable to identify this gully as the slot cut to house the base of the brushwood and clay walls of a large timber hut. If so, there must have been large

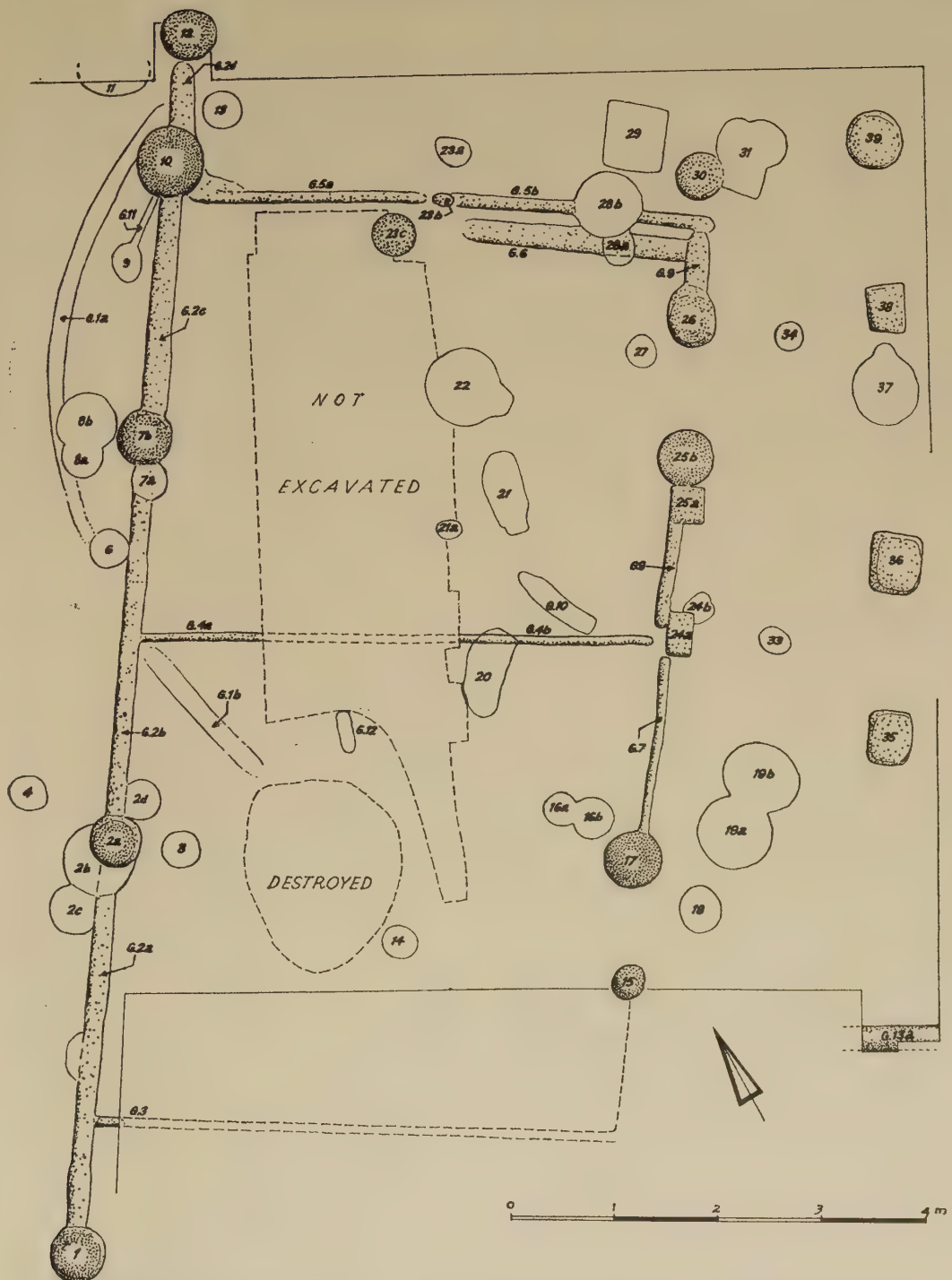

FIG. 5. REMAINS OF EARLIER TIMBER STRUCTURES UNDERLYING THE FIFTH-CENTURY RAMPART (POST-HOLES AND GULLIES OF THE 'RECTANGULAR TIMBER BUILDING' STIPPLED)

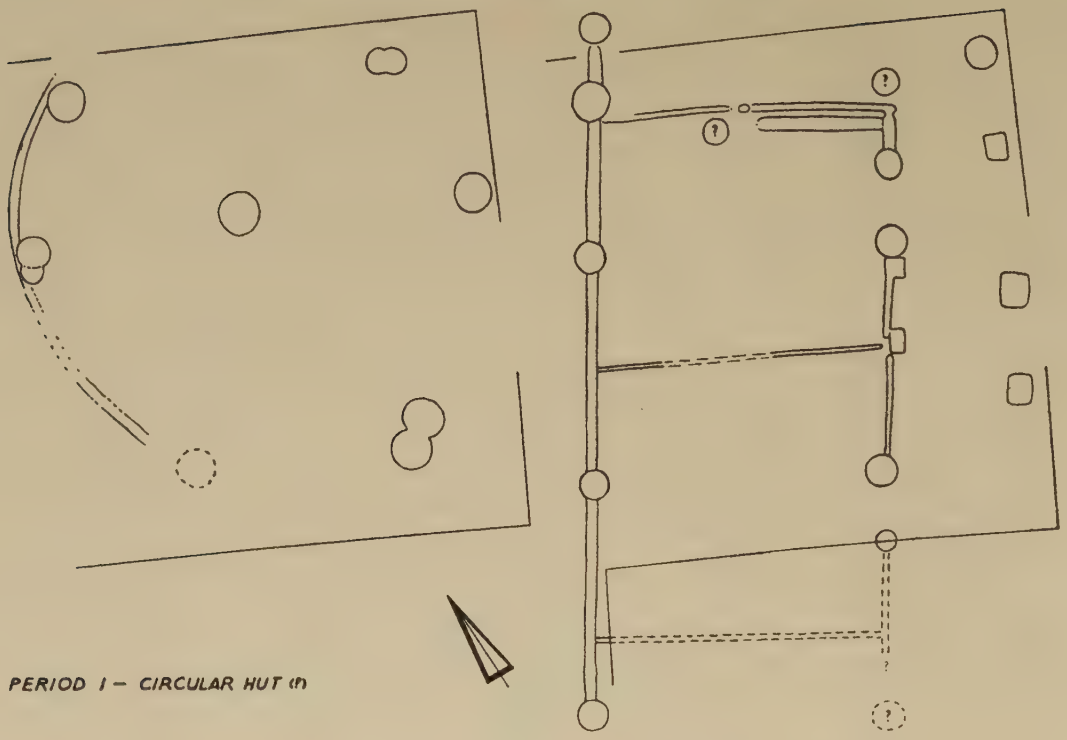

Fig. 6, *a* and *b*

posts supporting the roof, the position of one at least of which can be identified with some confidence in the double post-hole, P8. Another may be P10, later reused by the builders of the Rectangular Timber Building. For the rest, in the absence of any associated occupation-levels, one can do little more than select those features which appear to fall into a rational pattern. Thus, it is tempting to regard P22, which is almost exactly central to the curve of G1a, as having carried a central support; and P31 and P37, which lie on the circumference of a similar curve, as continuing the line of the outer wall. The large double post-hole, P19, would in that case mark the somewhat elliptical south-eastward extention of the same curve, the remaining post-hole at this end having been destroyed when the lime-kiln was dug. Some such interpretation is needed to make sense of the visible remains, although, for the reasons already stated, it can be little more than reasonable guesswork.

What does seem to be established is that the surviving post-holes belong to at least two, and very possibly more, successive buildings. Three distinct phases seem to be represented, for example, in P2. Another very substantial structure that seems to bear no relation to the circular building is that represented by the two eccentrically-shaped and almost certainly contemporary post-holes, P20 and P21. In this case the key to their significance probably lies buried beneath the

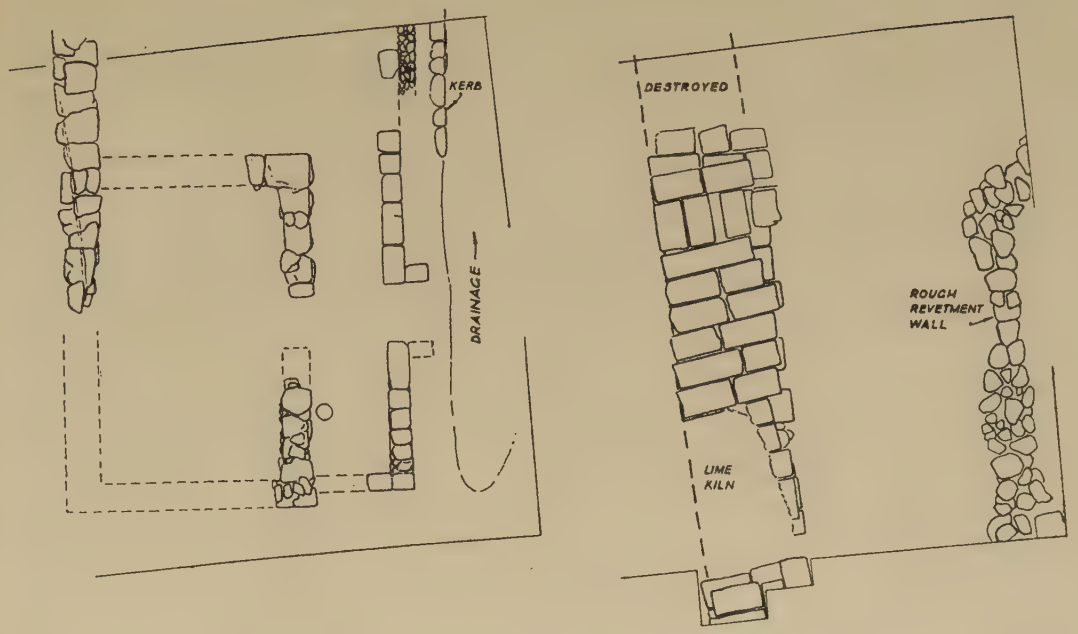

FIG. 6, *c* and *d*

masonry of the rampart wall. Yet another early group that may be distinct from the circular building is that of P28 and P29 (fig. 8). We cannot distinguish all the details, but this site clearly had a long history.

Apart from the rather tantalising traces of the actual buildings, the only tangible remains of this earliest phase are the deposits of occupation material that were found scattered down the forward slopes of the hillside, in front of the later rampart wall. When the first of these deposits was uncovered, in trench V5–7, concentrated within a shallow scoop cut into the brow of the forward slope (pl. XXXI, AA′–2), it seemed as if this might be the remains of an actual dwelling, of a very simple character and perhaps partly scarped away by the builders of the rampart. No trace, however, was forthcoming of any associated structure; and as further deposits of almost identical material came to light all along the brow to the south, it became obvious that these were in fact dumps of rubbish, thrown out from the buildings on the crest. It is not impossible that some part of this rubbish may have been tipped down the slope when the site for the Rectangular Timber Building was stripped and cleared. To judge, however, from the bedding of the tips, seamed with layers of charcoal and organic material (particularly noticeable in V20, V21 and V23; fig. 7); there can be little doubt that the majority of it accumulated gradually during the period that the buildings above were in use. It offers a cross-section of what might have been found had the occupation-levels within the huts been preserved intact; and, with the possible exception of the odd intrusive sherds, none of it is likely to be later than the demolition of the Rectangular Timber Building.

No certain trace was found of any defences earlier than the great fifth-century rampart. A partial explanation for this, at first sight rather surprising, omission was forthcoming in trenches V20–21 and V23 (fig. 7). The further south these trenches were extended, the more steeply the natural surface of the rock was found to slope, at first towards the west and then, increasingly, also towards the south, a tendency that is evident also from the direction of the gullies (G2e and 2f) and post-holes (P41a and P41b) which were the only features exposed in these trenches. Here was clear confirmation of the findings of the previous year's excavations (see also p. 77), namely that the line of the rampart is here an artificial one, linking the main plateau with what was in origin a rounded knoll, separated from it by a

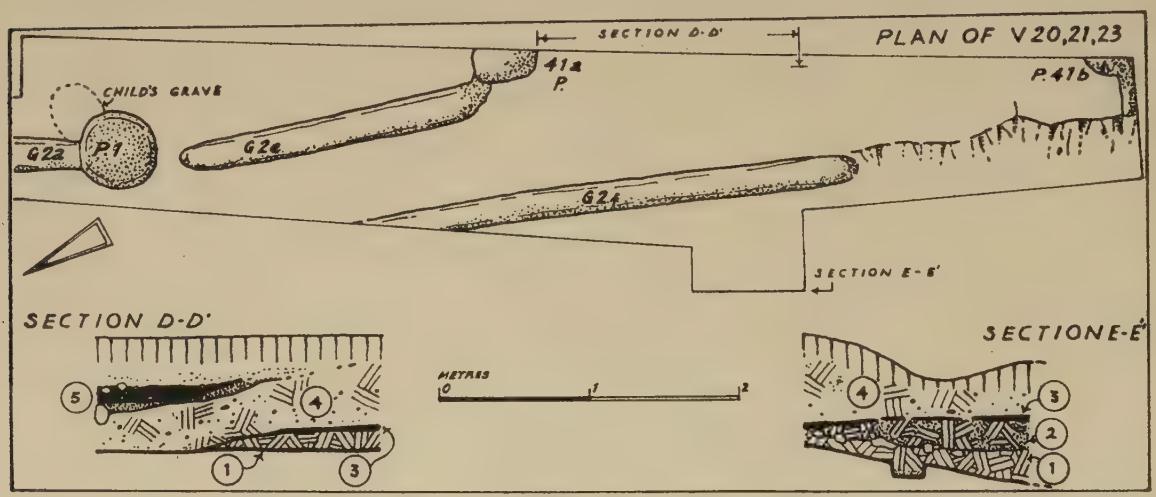

Fig. 7. Trenches V20, V21 and V23 (for key, see p. 74)

substantial depression, corresponding (very roughly) to the line of the ancient road. The construction of the rampart across this depression was a substantial feat of engineering. Before this was undertaken, the natural line for the defences of the main plateau (if indeed there were any such) to have taken would have lain some distance to the east, approximately where the ancient road reaches the level ground within the city.

The buildings that immediately preceeded the construction of the rampart were certainly outside any early defences that the city may have had. What of the original settlement? Here, one cannot exclude the possibility that the outer wall of the Rectangular Timber Building followed the line, and made use of the post-holes, of an earlier timber palisade enclosing the whole or part of the settlement on this isolated hill. The siting, along the brow, would have been very appropriate; and some support for the conjecture may be found in the discovery of a gully (G2e) which appears to be associated with the south-western post-hole of the later building (P1), and which carries the line of its outer wall onwards towards the south, curving gently eastwards with the contour (fig. 7). Another stretch of what might have been a similar palisade was exposed in trench V16/19 (p. 68; P44–47,

G16). All of this is, however, highly conjectural. The most that can be said is that the evidence at present available is not inconsistent with the existence of such a palisade. The matter could be readily tested by further excavation; and, with this reservation, it seems wiser for the present to envisage the original settlement as having been an open village, fenced it may well be, but lacking any substantial defences.

The following post-holes and gullies may be assigned to the earliest phase of the occupation of the site, before the construction of the Rectangular Timber Building. Those marked with an asterisk are perhaps to be associated with the curving gully, G1, as having carried the main timbers of a large, slightly elliptical hut. The associated finds will be described and discussed in Part II of this Report.

(a) *belonging to, or immediately adjoining, the main complex*

P2b. Bowl-shaped, with a rounded bottom; shallower than P2a, by which it appears to have been cut; 70 × 65 cm., depth 55 cm. No finds.

P2c. Shallow, round-bottomed; 50 × 40 cm., depth 16 cm. Overlapping, and probably earlier than, both P2b and G2. No finds.

P2d. Shallow, round-bottomed; 35 cm. diam., depth 18 cm. Overlaps G2; similar to, and perhaps contemporary with, P2c, P3. No finds.

P3. Shallow, round-bottomed; 36 × 32 cm., depth 24 cm. Similar to P2c, P2d. No finds.

P4. Shallow, vertical-sided (diam. 29 cm., depth 36 cm.), cut into the tufa on the extreme edge of the forward slope, at the point where the latter appears to have been deliberately cut back on an irregular curve. One sherd of hand-made impasto, and one of red impasto.

P5. Similar to P4; diam. 31 cm., depth 36 cm. No finds.

P6. Shallow, round-bottomed; diam. 40 cm., depth 28 cm. Partly overlaps G1, which at this point is very shallow, indicating that the rock-surface has here been trimmed down, probably by the builders of the Rectangular Timber Building. No finds.

P7a. Circular (diam. 35 cm.), with almost vertical sides and flat bottom (depth 29 cm.). It overlaps P7b and lies directly across the line of G2; but although found partly filled with the same fragments of daub and black organic matter as P7b, it may well have been cut at an earlier period. Seven impasto sherds.

P8. Pair of overlapping post-holes, both of which lie across the line of the curving gully, G1. Although both may be contemporary with this gully, from the manner of its cutting P8 must be the earlier of the two.

* a. Circular, with steep, inward-sloping sides (diam. 40 cm.). At the bottom (max. depth 45 cm.) there is an upstanding plug of undisturbed tufa (depth of top 38 cm.), with a groove all round it; the hole was evidently dug by working round the edge with a crowbar, and prising out the middle. No finds.

* b. Circular, vertical-sided, with an almost flat bottom (diam. 60 cm., depth 52 cm.). Tangental to P7b, into which there is an irregular and almost certainly fortuitous break below ground-level. No finds.

P9. Oval, neatly cut below (22 × 20 cm.), but spreading or broken out at the surface (36 × 26 cm.) and possibly truncated (depth 14 cm.); associated with the small gully G11. No finds.

*P10. Circular (64 × 62 cm.) and deeply undercut towards the east and south (max. diam. 71 cm.); about 68 cm. deep, cutting right down through the tufa capping into the clay-like pozzolana. It may have been cut originally in connection with G1; it was certainly used by the builders of the Rectangular Timber Building; and it was found sealed beneath the footings of the west wall of the Stone Building. No finds.

P11. A large post-hole (diam. not less than 40 cm.) exposed in the edge of trench V6; vertical-sided and at least 45 cm. deep. No finds.

P12. Circular (diam. 45 cm.), vertical-sided, and at least 72 cm. deep; found sealed beneath the footings of the west wall of the Stone Building. The northern edge could not be fully cleared, and it may overlap in this direction with some other feature, not yet explored; in particular, it is probable that it marks the northern end of G2, but this has still to be demonstrated. Two sherds of hand-made impasto.

P13. Shallow, round-bottomed; 38 × 36 cm., depth 22 cm. No finds.

P14. Circular (diam. 35 cm.), with almost vertical sides (depth 48 cm.). One hand-made impasto rim, one sherd of advanced impasto, one sherd of painted ware.

P16. Pair of overlapping post-holes; found sealed beneath the make-up of the floor of the Stone Building, and presumably earlier also than the Rectangular Timber Building. There was no observable difference in the fill, although the character of the cutting suggests that they were not contemporary.
a. An irregular oval (37 × 30 cm.), with rather poorly cut sides; depth 34 cm.
b. Circular (diam. 36 cm.) and well cut, with vertical sides, depth 42 cm.
A few sherds of both ordinary and advanced impasto, and of hand-made and wheel-made coarse ware; part of a low impasto pedestal base; and three sherds of red impasto.

P18. Slightly oval (43 × 38 cm.), with well-cut, vertical sides, unusually deep (88 cm.). Three sherds of hand-made impasto, dolium sherds, and one sherd of wheel-turned red impasto. Also part of a moulded impasto stand, similar to that found in P19; and a small 'eye' bead of blue and yellow glass.

*P19. Pair of large and relatively shallow (truncated?) post-holes; very similar to each other in character, and no differentiation observable in the fills. Probably contemporary.
a. Cylindrical (diam. 70 cm.), with nearly vertical sides and flat bottom (depth 48 cm.).
b. Oval (70 × 53 cm.), with inward-sloping sides and flat bottom (depth 48 cm.). Three objects of moulded impasto; a small horse's head, part of a stand similar to that found in P18, and part of a small object decorated with combed lines. Also several sherds of hand-made impasto and of coarse ware, dolium sherds, and several sherds of red impasto.

P20. Irregularly shaped, elongated post-hole (max. dimensions 93 × 45 cm.), vertical and in places undercut along the east side and at the north end, tapering inwards along the other sides to a flat bottom, 60 × 28 cm.; depth 69 cm. It overlaps the line of G4, which is a later feature. A pair presumably with the very similarly shaped P21.

P21. Irregularly shaped, elongated post-hole (max. dimensions 83 × 45 cm.), cut vertically along the east and south sides, and tapering inwards along the other sides to a flat bottom, 63 × 30 cm.; hand-made coarse ware lid, and a pedestal base in wheel-turned coarse ware.

*P22. Pair of overlapping post-holes, of which the smaller (P22b) is almost certainly the earlier, although there was no observable distinction in the fill. Sealed both by the rampart wall and by the levels of made-up ground associated with the Stone Building.
a. Circular (diam. 72 cm.), tapering regularly to diam. 45 cm.; flat-bottomed, depth 40 cm.
b. Tapering almost to a point and roughly cut; diam. 30 cm.; depth 40 cm.
Oval impasto jug, possibly wheel-turned, rim of wheel-turned coarse ware.

P23a. Oval, shallow; 42 × 30 cm., depth 12 cm.

P23b. Very shallow, irregularly-shaped depression at the point of junction of G5a and G5b.

P23c. Circular (diam. 44 cm.) and well cut; depth 72 cm. Sealed by the rampart wall, and may belong to the Rectangular Timber Building. Seven impasto sherds.

P24b. Possibly a small, roughly cut post-hole of this period; see *s.v.* the Rectangular Timber Building.

P27. Poorly cut and narrowing almost to a point; 32 × 37 cm., depth 34 cm. Sealed by the foundation layer of the Stone Building.

P28. Pair of overlapping post-holes, of which the smaller and rougher, P28a, is probably also the earlier. Both were found sealed by the flooring slabs and accompanying earthen make-up of the Stone Building; they are probably also earlier than the two gullies of the Rectangular Timber Building, G5 and G6, although the nature of the fill was such that this could not be demonstrated.
a. Roughly circular, with vertical sides; diam. 35 cm.; depth 55 cm.
b. Circular (diam. 63 cm.), regularly cut, with sides undercut in places but tapering at the bottom to diam. 48 cm.; depth 71 cm. Interconnects with P29, *q.v.*

P29. Rectangular (55 × 66 cm.), with one inward-sloping and three vertical or slightly undercut sides; depth 53 cm. (north end) sloping to 60 cm. (south end). One opening pierced into P28b and another into P30, both at a depth of approx. 35–45 cm., suggesting that all three may have been cut in the first place for water-storage, or some similar purpose. Fig. 8. Two sherds of hand-made impasto, and several from a pot of hand-made coarse ware.

P30. See *s.v.* the Rectangular Timber Building. Although this is a typical post-hole, vertical-sided and deep in relation to its width, the fact that it interconnects with P29 suggests that it occupies the place of a pre-existing pit or post-hole.

*P31. Complex post-hole, which overlaps P20 at the south-west corner. It appears to have consisted of a pair or circular post-holes, overlapping each other to form a flattened figure-of-eight (diam. of each 40–50 cm., tapering to 30–35 cm.; depth 56 cm.), and cutting through (or cut through by) these a wholly or partially rectangular post-hole or pit, 40–50 cm. square

and 84 cm. deep. There were no distinguishing features in the fill to suggest the order of cutting; but one or both of the pair of circular post-holes may belong to the large circular hut. No finds.

*P37. Cylindrical (60 × 62 cm.), regularly cut and flat-bottomed (depth 40 cm.); the top was found packed with stones. Several sherds of hand-made impasto, the neck of a jar of wheel-turned red impasto, and a piece of a large wheel-turned, coarse ware dolium; also one sherd with rounded edges, used as a rubber.

The attribution of this post-hole to the earlier phase rather than to the Rectangular Timber Building (with P35, 36, 38 and 39) is based on the difference in the filling and on the evidence of plan; all alike were truncated by the builders of the Stone Building.

*G1. Part of a long, curving gully; diam. of curve in G1a approx. 4 m., straightening out considerably in G1b. Rather unevenly cut, and tapering to a maximum depth of 12–14 cm. near the north end; south of P8 it is much shallower (never more than 3 cm.), and it disappears altogether just short of the central pit of the lime-kiln. It has evidently been truncated by

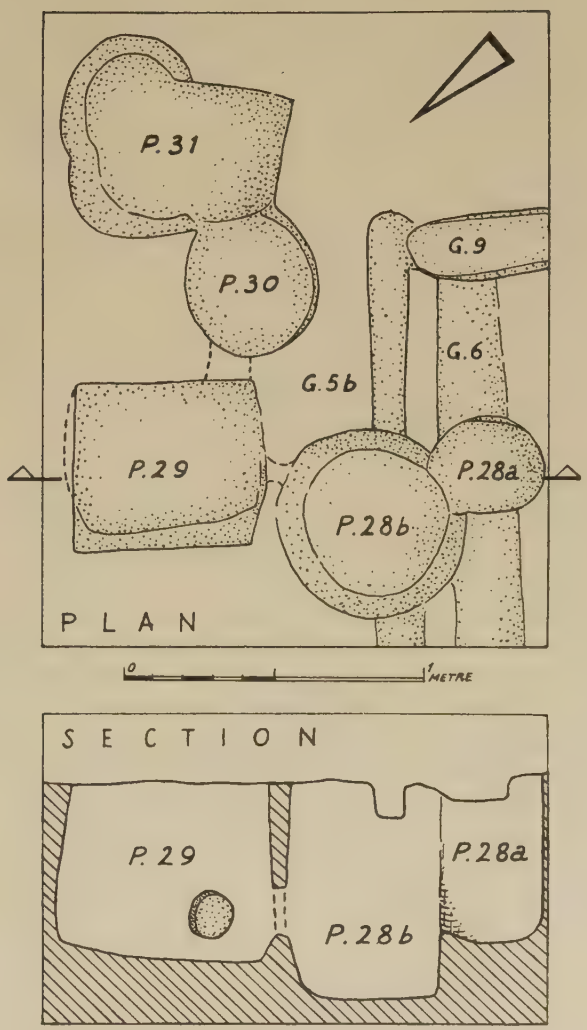

Fig. 8. Group of Intercommunicating Post-holes

the later dressing-down of the rock surface, presumably by the builders of the Rectangular Timber Building. It is presumably associated with at least one stage of P8, and perhaps with an earlier phase of P10.

G10. 88 × 20 cm.; flat-bottomed, depth 11 cm.

G11. Small and shallow, 5–7 cm. wide and 8 cm. deep; presumably associated with P9.

G12. 41 × 14 cm.; depth 14 cm.

G13a. Small stretch of gully at the extreme S.E. corner of the excavation; 25 cm. across and 25 cm. deep. Three sherds of plain impasto and two of red impasto.

(b) *in the southward extension of the main excavated area, along the brow of the hill* (V20, 21, 23; fig. 7)

P41a. Shallow, roughly squared hole, cut by the trench face; 40 cm. from N. to S. and 12 cm. deep. Possibly associated with G2e. No finds.

P41b. Rounded hole, cut by the trench face, with a gully (?) running from it to the scarp; 30 cm. from N. to S. and 8 cm. deep. No finds.

G2e. Narrow gully, 10–12 cm. wide and 10 cm. deep; possibly associated with P41a, but hardly contemporary with G2a, than which it is more roughly cut. No finds.

G2f. Straight, narrow gully, 10 cm. wide and 10 cm. deep, running on the edge of the scarp. Similar to G2e. No finds.

2. *The Rectangular Timber Building* (figs. 5, 6b)

In course of time the early huts gave place to a more ambitious rectangular structure, built of substantial vertical timbers, with outer walls and partitions made of wooden poles, or hurdles of brushwood, socketed into sleeper beams (the outer west wall) or bedded into rectangular slots, and faced with clay. As in the case of the buildings of the previous period, the associated occupation-levels have almost entirely disappeared. Of the general lines of the structure, however, the very distinctive pattern of the post-holes and gullies (fig. 6b) leaves no room for doubt. The position of the outer wall is marked by the continuous line of post-holes and gullies (P1, 2a, 7b, 10 and 12; G2) referred to in the previous section (pl. XVIII, *a*). Parallel with this, and 5 m. to the east of it, there is a similar line, to which post-holes P17, 25b and 26 may be ascribed with certainty, and P15 and 30 with great probability; in this case the associated gully (G7–8–9) is discontinuous. Neither of the two shorter sides of the building could be completely cleared within the time available; and rather than risk destroying valuable evidence by hasty *sondages*, it seemed wiser to leave the final elucidation of the plan at these two points to possible future excavation. At the south end it is certain that P1 marks the extreme limit of the building. If P12 marks the corresponding north-west corner (as is probable, though not proved) the total length was about 11.40 m.

Between these two outer walls there ran a number of transverse partition walls, the lines of which are marked by similar, but smaller, gullies. One of these, G3, of which only the western end could be cleared, lay about 1.40 m. inwards from the south-west corner; a second, G4, crossed the building some 7.50 m. to the north of the first; and a third, G5, 5.15–5.30 m. to the north of this again. The latter of these falls into two more or less equal sections, separated by a small, very shallow post-hole (P23b); and near the east end it is cut by a large post-hole (P28b), which may be contemporary, but which, in view of the apparent symmetry of G5a and G5b about P23b, seems more probably to belong to the previous period and to be associated with an adjoining square post-hole, P29. Parallel with G5,

and certainly contemporary with it, is a second, and much broader, gully, G6, which presumably housed some substantial wooden object that stood up against the wall at the north-east corner of the room.

A singular feature of this building is the almost total lack of correspondence between the positions of the main timber uprights and of the partitioning cross-walls. So far as one can judge, there were no internal supports (P20 and its pendant P21 can hardly be contemporary with G4, and P22 is well off-axis), and the weight of the roof must presumably, therefore, have been carried by the uprights of the outer walls, which do in fact fall into conveniently-spaced pairs (P2a and P17; P7b and P25b; P10 and P30). Between P15 and P17, and again between P25b and P26, there are gaps in the continuity of the longitudinal gully which presumably represent openings, and which fit very convincingly into the pattern presented by the internal partitions. There is on the other hand a feature (P24, P25a; G8) near the centre of this same side which has all the appearance of being the socket for a timber door-frame, with carefully squared wooden jambs and threshold (pl. XVIII, *b*), and which does in fact correspond almost exactly with the position of the doorway of the Stone Building (from which it is, however, separated by a clearly-defined foundation-layer, fig. 11, BB′–4). Perhaps these two seemingly incompatible features indicate a remodelling of the interior of the building during the period of its occupation, the two original doors being later replaced by a single central door.

Along the east side of the Timber Building, and roughly parallel with it, runs a line of large, well-cut and, for their size, rather shallow post-holes (P35, 36, 38, 39; P37 seems to belong to an earlier phase), cut into the rock approximately along the axis of the broad, shallow depression associated with the kerb that runs along the east side of the later Stone Building. Since there are no corresponding post-holes further to the east (the rock-floor of trench V8 was for a long way quite featureless) these post-holes must belong to one or other phase of the buildings that underlie the rampart wall. In their present form they seem altogether too shallow to have carried timber uprights of the size indicated; and since they were certainly not cut after the scooped depression had been filled in, it seems reasonable to interpret them as having been originally some 25 cm. deeper, and as having carried a timber portico along the east face of the Timber Building, the upper parts of the sockets having been cut away later, when the depression was scooped out of the rock along approximately the same line. This interpretation is not without difficulties. It does not, for example, explain why the portico should (seemingly) have stopped short of the south end of the building. It does, however, make sense of the observed facts; and since the doors of the Rectangular Building all face in this direction, it makes a by no means unreasonable addition to its plan.

Although little or nothing remains *in situ* of the occupation levels associated with the Timber Building, its construction involved the suppression and filling of a number of earlier post-holes, i.e. those listed in the preceding section. The contents of these included wheel-turned coarse wares and impasto in considerable quantities, as well as a certain amount of red impasto, but no bucchero. If representative, they indicate a relatively early date within the Etruscan period for the construction of the Rectangular Timber Building.

The following post-holes and gullies may be assigned to the Rectangular Timber Building. They were presumably filled when the Stone Building was laid out on the same site, the large quantities of daub and decayed organic matter found in several of them being the remains of the walls dismantled to make way for it. The associated finds will be described and discussed in Part 2 of this Report.

P1. Circular (diam. 54 cm.), with almost vertical sides (depth not less than 60 cm.). Associated with G2a, which runs into but not beyond it, and possibly (in an earlier phase?) with G18. Beside it, and probably but not quite certainly dug when the post-hole was already filled in, an infant's burial.

P2a. Circular (51 × 47 cm.), with regular vertical sides (depth 93 cm.), cutting down through P2b; the marks of its cutting, with vertical blows of a crowbar, are clearly visible. It lies right across G2. Found filled with large quantities of daub and organic matter, including carbonized grain. Four sherds of plain impasto, two of dark red impasto, and one of a well-fired ware with an internal slip, of which a number of vessels were found in the filling of the *cuniculus* exposed in Section FF′ (p. 76).

P7b. Circular (49 × 51 cm.), slightly bulbous in section (max. diam. 54 cm.), with gently rounded bottom (depth 74 cm.); an irregular and almost certainly fortuitous break below ground-level into P8b. It lies right across the line of G2, with which it is certainly contemporary, and it was found sealed beneath the footings of the west wall of the Stone Building. Found filled with fragments of daub and organic matter, including carbonized grain, which extended some 25 cm. northwards along G2 and also into the fill of P7a, which was probably earlier but was cut by G2; also five loom-weights, nine sherds of thick impasto and one of red impasto.

P10. First cut probably in the preceeding period (*q.v.*), but certainly reused by the builders of the Rectangular Timber Building, and contemporary with G2. Found sealed beneath the footings of the west wall of the Stone Building. No finds.

P12. Circular (diam. 74 cm.) and deep, with vertical sides; not completely cleared, but cut right through the tufa into the underlying layer of clay-like *pozzolana*; on the north side it appears to have cut into, or been cut through by, another post-hole or pit, which it was not possible to clear. Contemporary with G2, which ends up against it, and sealed by the footings of the west wall of the Stone Building. Two rims of hand-made impasto, and three other indeterminate impasto sherds.

P15. Oval (28 × not less than 45 cm.), with vertical sides; not completely cleared, but at least 50 cm. deep. Sealed beneath the footings of a building contemporary with the Stone Building, and found filled with fragments of daub and organic matter, including carbonized grain. Two sherds of coarse ware.

P17. Circular (diam. 52 cm.), with well-cut, vertical sides (depth 88 cm.); sealed beneath the footings of the Stone Building and its associated levels of made-up ground. Contemporary with G6. Found partly filled with fragments of daub and organic matter, including carbonized grain; also sherds of hand-made impasto, hand-made coarse ware, and dolium.

P23c. See *s.v.* Timber Structures belonging to the Earliest Phase.

P24a. Neatly squared (40 × 27 cm.), except where the tufa has been broken away by P23b; flat-bottomed, depth 32 cm. Contemporary with G6, G7 and G8. One sherd of red impasto.

P24b. An irregular, very roughly cut extension of P24a. May be an earlier feature, or may be merely incidental to the building or removal of the structures associated with P24a. One sherd of wheel-turned coarse ware.

P25a. Neatly squared on all four sides, although the north end and part of the south end have been largely trimmed away by P25b and by G8 respectively, with both of which it is contemporary: 40 × 29 cm., depth 22 cm. Found sealed beneath the foundation layer of the Stone Building. No finds.

P25b. Cylindrical (52 × 54 cm.), with regularly cut, almost vertical sides; flat-bottomed (depth 55 cm.). Sealed by the same layer as P25a. Some daub, one large coarse-ware sherd.

P26. Cut partly into the tufa, partly into an intrusive patch of poor-quality conglomerate, and badly splayed in consequence; 60 × 48 cm., tapering to 48 × 40 cm.; depth 45 cm.; at the north end it merges with G9. Found sealed by the foundation layer of the Stone Building and partly underlying the footings of its outer wall. Some daub, one coarse-ware rim, and two sherds of red impasto.

P30. Circular (diam. 43 cm.) and vertical-sided (depth 61 cm.); it overlaps P31 and is connected below ground-level with P29, suggesting that it occupies the position of an earlier feature. Sealed by the make-up of the floor of the Stone Building. One base of hand-made impasto jar; another probably of similar ware but heavily burnt.

P35. Rectangular (53 × 43 cm.) with rounded corners; neatly cut and rather shallow for its size (depth 34 cm.). Probably truncated by the builders of the Stone Building. Three sherds, including two rims, of small hand-made impasto vessels, and four sherds from one or more large hand-made impasto jars; one sherd of advanced impasto.

P36. Rectangular (60 × 51 cm.) with rounded corners; neatly cut and shallow for its size (depth 25 cm.), bottom somewhat rounded. Probably truncated by the builders of the Stone Building. Two sherds of plain impasto, one of red impasto, and one piece of an advanced impasto vessel, probably imitating a bucchero form; also a sherd of soft buff ware, probably painted ware from which the paint has disappeared.

P38. Rectangular (54 × 58 cm.) with slightly rounded corners; neatly cut, and rather shallow for its size (depth 40 cm.), bottom gently rounded. Probably truncated by the builders of the Stone Building. Three sherds of hand-made impasto.

P39. Oval (61 × 51 cm.); neatly cut and shallow for its size (depth 27 cm.), bottom gently rounded. Probably truncated by the builders of the Stone Building. No finds.

G2. Long, regular gully running from north to south in an almost exactly straight line, connecting post-holes P1 (beyond which it does not continue), P2a, P7b, P10 and P12 (up against which it ends). Though varying somewhat from one stretch to the next both in width (17–24 cm.) and in depth (12–25 cm.), due mainly though not entirely to irregularities in the tufa surface, it is on the whole very regularly cut, far more so than, for example, G1; it was clearly planned and cut as a unit and may have contained a sleeper beam or beams. At several points, notably adjoining P7b, the fill was demonstrably the same as that of the associated post-holes, and, like P12, it was found sealed beneath the foundations of the west wall of the Stone Building. At the south end (G2a) it was almost certainly cut down through the deposits of rubbish that were already resting on the tufa (as was G3), although no firm distinction could be observed in the respective fills. The only finds from the fill within the gully were three impasto sherds.

For the possibility that the builders of the Rectangular Timber Building were following and making use of an earlier line of post-holes and gullies, see p. 54.

G3. Running east and west, 7–8 cm. wide and about 6 cm. deep; only the extreme west end could be cleared, but there can be little doubt that it runs roughly parallel to, and corresponds with, G4 and G5. In section the filling of this gully can be seen to contain a lot of dark matter, which spread sideways over the deposits that lie directly on the tufa, some 10–12 cm. above the surface of the latter, showing that when this gully was filled (and probably also when it was cut) deposits of rubbish had already accumulated on the west and forward slopes of the hill. No finds.

G4. Narrow slot, running east and west on either side of the rampart wall, and doubtless continuous (or substantially so, cf. G5) beneath it; 7–9 cm. wide, up to 14 cm. deep. Though presumably later than P20 (there was no visible distinction in the fill), it was found sealed by, and earlier than, the make-up for the floor within the Stone Building. No finds.

G5. Narrow slot-like gully, running east and west between the north end of G9 and the junction of G2 and P10; 10–13 cm. wide, depth rather variable, up to 16 cm. It is interrupted halfway by the very shallow post-hole, P23b, which presumably marks an internal subdivision of the partition wall; and the line is cut by P28b, which is probably an earlier feature, since it is linked to P29 and presumably, therefore, stood open. Towards the east end it was found sealed beneath the make-up of the floor within the Stone Building; at the west end it formerly ran beneath the rampart wall, but the latter has at this point been completely destroyed by ploughing. No finds.

G6. Broad, rather shallow, flat-bottomed gully, parallel with the eastern part of G5 and about 10 cm. out from it; 21–24 cm. wide, 8–13 cm. deep, and about 2.20 m. long. Like G5, with which it is contemporary, it was found sealed beneath the make-up of the floor within the Stone Building; and it is cut by P28a, which must be an earlier feature. No finds.

G7. Running north and south between P17 (into which it runs) and P24a (up against which it stops); 7–9 cm. wide, and up to 12 cm. deep. Like P17 and P24a, it was found sealed beneath the make-up of the floor within the Stone Building. No finds.

G8. Regularly shaped, squared slot running north and south between, though slightly oblique to, P24a and P25a; 14–15 cm. wide, 16 cm. deep, flat-bottomed. Found sealed beneath the foundation layer and floor make-up of the Stone House. One sherd of painted ware.

G9. Extending northwards from P26, about 55–60 cm., and ending up against the end of G5. Cut in the same patch of poor conglomerate as P26 and now rather splayed; about 20 cm. wide and 20 cm. deep. No finds.

3. *The Stone Building* (figs. 6c, 9)

In due course the Rectangular Timber Building was demolished to make way for a new building which, although differing in many details from its predecessor, occupied the same site, and may well have been in effect little more than a replacement of it in more durable materials. The superstructure of this new building was

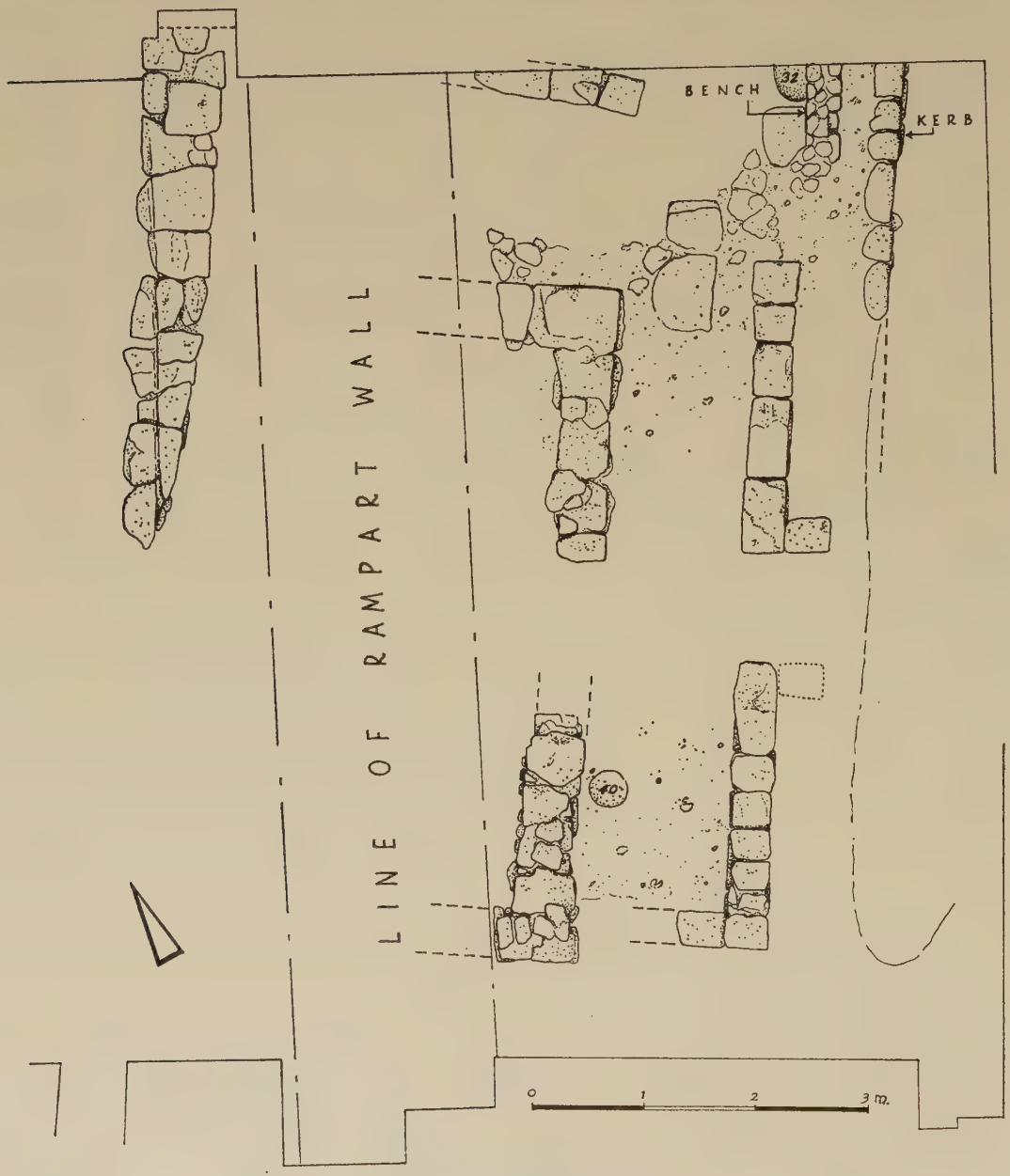

FIG. 9 THE STONE BUILDING

almost certainly of mud brick, or of mud brick laced with timber; but the foundation (all that has survived) is of stone, and for simplicity of reference it is convenient to refer to it as the Stone Building.

Of the footings of the outer west wall, which occupied exactly the same position as the equivalent wall of the Timber Building, only the northern half was found in position, and even that had been badly damaged by ploughing. The surviving blocks were almost all deeply grooved, and some had actually been displaced. Enough remained, however, to show that in build this wall resembled the next wall to the east rather than the wall beyond it. South of a point corresponding roughly with Post-hole 7a all trace of it had been destroyed, but in the other direction it ran at least to the northern limit of the area excavated.

Parallel with this wall, and just under 4 m. to the east of it, were the footings of a second wall. Except for a central gap, 1.40 m. wide, this second wall was continuous for a distance of just over 6 m.; and at the two ends it returned at right-angles to meet the outer western wall, delimiting a rectangular room, 5.10 m. long and 3.40 m. wide. Of the two shorter sides, the southern one was destroyed altogether by the builders of the rampart wall but, thanks to a slight divergence of axis, the stump of the northern one has survived, and can be seen to have been of one build with the longer wall, and identically constructed. The masonry is extremely rough (pl. XVIII, *c*), consisting of slabs of various qualities of tufa, ranging in size from chunks the size of a fist to blocks 60 cm. (in one case 80 cm.) long. The width varies from 45 to 60 cm., and there seems to have been little or no attempt to lay the blocks to a neat face, at any rate in the footings. In places, however, one or both faces of the larger blocks can be seen to have been dressed back to a uniform line when they were already in position, which suggests that the upper part may have been rather better built. The central opening almost certainly marks the position of a door, directly opposite that in the outer east wall; the north jamb is in place, but the south jamb was removed when the rampart was built.

The east wall of the building (pl. XVIII, *c*) lay some 1.60 cm. beyond that just described, coinciding closely, though not quite exactly, with the line of the east wall of the Timber Building. It is a good deal better built, the individual blocks being dressed to a regular face, and carefully levelled; but in other respects it conforms closely to the pattern of the inner wall. There is the same central opening, and at the south end it returned at right-angles to meet the south-east corner of the inner room. At the north end, where the earlier levels have been badly disturbed, both in antiquity by the builders of the rampart and in modern times by ploughing, the east wall now stops short just beyond the north-east corner of the inner room. It is certain, however, that the building as a whole extended at least as far as the northern limit of the excavation, and it seems likely that the eastern façade, too, was continuous, although the actual stone construction appears to have been interrupted by a timber upright (Post-hole 32) just at the point where the line of it strikes the north wall of the excavation. The remains of a low wall of tufa rubble, immediately to the east of this post-hole and contemporary with it, are presumably those of a bench, built up against the facade.

The only other features that can certainly be attributed to the builders of the Stone Building are the cutting of a broad, shallow depression immediately outside,

and parallel with, the outer east wall, and the laying of a stone kerb along the inner edge of this depression, so as to form a narrow platform (some 80 cm. wide) along the whole façade. The depression, which is 80–90 cm. wide and 25 cm. deep truncating a number of earlier post-holes, tapers out immediately opposite the sound end of the building, but is continuous southwards, beyond the limits of the excavation; and although it seems rather large for the purpose, the only explanation that comes to mind is that it was cut to carry rainwater away from the façade of the building towards the northern edge of the plateau. Certainly the experience of the excavations showed that some such drainage would have been needed. The kerb was still in position at the northern end, but elsewhere it had been removed prior to the construction of the rampart (pl. XXXI, AA′; cf. fig. 11–CC′).

In conforming closely to the outline of the previous building, the builder of the Stone Building was unable to rely solely upon the solid tufa for his foundations. The line of the east wall, in particular, was riddled with earlier gullies and post-holes; and it was doubtless in order to secure a firm foundation that along this line, and for some distance to either side of it, he laid, directly on top of the tufa and over the filling of the post-holes, a layer of small, tightly-packed chunks of yellow tufa (pl. XXXI, AA′–4; fig. 11, BB′–4). This very distinctive layer was found, not only beneath the wall-footings, but also over most of the area between the façade and the inner wall, under the make-up of the floor, and again immediately outside the building, where, together with the stone kerb, it formed the surface of the narrow platform that ran along the façade. On top of it, between the two walls, were several more or less horizontal tips of earth and stones (fig. 11, BB′–5; pl. XIX, *a*), forming the make-up of the entrance-corridor. Here and there they had been disturbed by the rampart builders; but they were quite intact at the south end of the corridor, and substantially so at the north end, where they could be traced for some distance beyond the line of the north wall of the inner room. At this north end, where there were a great many underlying pits and gullies, the flooring incorporated several large, flat slabs of stone, and it may well be the haphazard robbing-out of other similar blocks that has made the detailed stratigraphy at this end so very hard to interpret. At one point, towards the south end, there was a single post-hole (P40). This presumably carried some secondary feature, set up against the inner wall of the corridor.

Two other features revealed by the excavation are presumably to be assigned to this period. One is a line of flat slabs found resting directly on the tufa, and immediately under the plough, at the extreme northern edge of the excavation; alongside it, and almost certainly contemporary with it, was a shallow channel (G13) cut into the tufa against its northern face. Although the alignment is curiously oblique to that of the other walls of the Stone Building, it is not impossible that this is its outer north wall, in which case the northward extension of the platform and kerb associated with the eastern façade suggests that there may have been a similar building immediately to the north. It would, however, be unwise to speculate further without fresh excavation. The line of slabs might equally well have carried a partition wall, or some substantial structural feature inside the north room.

The other contemporary feature is a rather similar line of slabs, running at a

slightly oblique angle across the south-east corner of the excavation, just beyond the southern end of the large, shallow drainage-channel. In this case there can be little doubt that they belong to a building that was contemporary with, but structurally distinct from, the Stone Building.

The surviving remains of the walls of this period are of stone. The thickness of the footings alone, however, would seem to be enough to show that these could not have been carried up to any great height in the same material; they must rather have consisted of a low socle of stone supporting a wall of some lighter material. This was in fact confirmed by the discovery of a flat patch of very hard, encrusted clay, still in position on top of one of the blocks of the façade wall, that immediately to the north of the central doorway (visible as a lighter patch in pl. XVIII, *b*). It was not well enough preserved to show whether it had been applied in the form of actual bricks or merely used as a mortar; but it was quite enough to indicate in general terms the character of the superstructure, which must have consisted either of mud brick or else of some combination of clay and timber, or possibly of clay, timber and stone.

It has already been remarked that the plan of the Stone Building coincides with that of its predecessor. The coincidence is too close to be accidental. Not only do the front and back long walls occupy almost exactly the same positions in the two buildings, but the jambs of the main doorway of the Stone Building coincide so exactly with the jamb-sockets of the central door-feature of the Timber Building (pl. XVIII, *b*), that they would certainly have been taken to be part of the same structure, were it not that the sockets belonging to the earlier building were found securely sealed beneath the yellow tufa foundation level of its successor. The one building must have succeeded the other without any appreciable break. The Stone Building was, however, by no means a slavish copy of its predecessor in new materials. At the south end it was considerably shorter, and the internal arrangements were quite different, unless indeed the corridor may be regarded as the internal counterpart of the former external portico. That it was a building of a certain substance and pretensions is shown by the special care taken over the materials and construction of the façade; and we may probably deduce something of its appearance from the relative positions of the façade, the kerb and the drainage-channel, which suggest that the roof had a wide overhang—a feature which, to judge from contemporary models, was as characteristic of Etruscan civil architecture as it was of the Etruscan temple.

In front of the building in both periods there seems to have been an open space, but this is evidence of continuity of occupation rather than of formal planning. No evidence of the latter was in fact forthcoming within the limited area covered by the excavation.

The following post-holes may be assigned to the Stone Building.

P32. Semicircular, perhaps cut to hold two small posts, a square one on the north (26 × 26 cm.; depth 32 cm.) and a round one (diam. 10 cm., depth 20 cm.) on the south. The line of the flat side corresponds exactly with that of the edge of the stone bench, with which it is probably associated. One sherd of hand-made impasto and one of coarse ware.

P40. Circular (18–20 cm. diam.) and stone-packed, splaying south at the base and filled with soft dark earth. It was cut from the surface of level 5, i.e. of the make-up for the floor of the Stone Building; depth 28 cm. No finds.

4. *The Fifth-century defences* (fig. 6d)

The construction of the north-western ramparts brought an end to the occupation of the site. Part of the Stone Building was demolished to make way for the rampart wall, and what was left of the rest was covered by the earthen rampart, which extended westwards to the edge of the slope and eastwards for a distance of some 16 m., covering not only the site of the earlier buildings but also the open space beyond them.

Here, as was to be expected on the summit of the hill, far less of the rampart was found to have survived than on the lower-lying site excavated in the previous year. It is not at all unlikely that this important sector of the defences was deliberately slighted after the capture of the city in 396; and what remained must from its position always have been particularly vulnerable both to weather and to human activity. As a result, the wall is nowhere standing more than two courses high, and little more than a metre was found to separate the present surface of the rampart from the underlying rock. Fortunately, even in this truncated state it was immediately obvious that, despite differences of detail, the broad lines of the constructional pattern were identical with those revealed by the section cut through the defences just to the south of the gate in the previous year. There could be no doubt that the defences to the north of the gate formed part of the same system as those to the south, and that the results of the one excavation could probably be used in interpreting the evidence from the other.

As in the previous year, the most tangible feature of the defences was found to be a massive wall of tufa blocks, set some distance back from the lip of the slope and incorporated on both faces within the body of a large earthen rampart. Within the section excavated it is uniformly preserved two courses high, except at the north end, where recent ploughing has stripped it down to bedrock, and again at the south end, where, at some undetermined though probably not very ancient date, a circular lime-kiln has been cut into the western face of it. It is built almost entirely of header-blocks, averaging some 45 cm. square in section and ranging up to 1.38 m. in length. The long faces of the blocks are carefully cut and neatly jointed. The ends, by contrast, are left rough, one end apparently being left as quarried (pl. XIII, *b*), and the other dressed to a rough surface with an adze or some similar tool (pl. XIII, *c*; width of blade, 3–4 cm.)[4]. As in the section examined in 1957, the outer, western face is far more carefully aligned than the inner face, which is extremely irregular, the total width of the wall ranging from a minimum of 1.58 m. up to a maximum of 2.08 m. This difference in workmanship no doubt reflects the method and intentions of the builders, who must have started by laying out the line to be followed by the western face and then, working from this line, have cut a trench through the accumulated remains of the previous periods and down to bedrock to house the lowest course of the footings, laying the blocks to this outer line and leaving the inner face to take care of itself, according to the lengths of the blocks used. The result is that, against the inner face, there is in places a distinct foundation-trench for the blocks of the lowest course, whereas elsewhere there is no trench to be seen, the blocks resting almost directly up against

[4] The difference between the two ends presumably reflects contemporary quarrying practice.

the earlier levels. The second course repeats much the same story, except that here the corresponding levels are those of the earthen rampart, work on which was evidently already in progress when this second course of the wall was laid. This explains the foundation-trenches that appear sporadically up against the inner faces of one or other of the two surviving courses (*e.g.* pl. XXXI, AA′–10), but never consistently against both. They indicate stages in the progress of the work, not a consistent relationship between the wall as a whole and the rampart. As in the section cut in 1957, wall and rampart are undoubtedly contemporary, two complementary features of a single defensive scheme.

Against the outer face of the wall, little or nothing of the rampart had survived the ravages of ploughing. Behind it the lowest levels are intact over the whole width of the defences, to a thickness of 35–60 cm., immediately beneath the modern plough. These surving rampart-levels consist of tips of earth, barely distinguishable in texture from those associated with the previous buildings and containing a great deal of the same sort of material, having been stripped presumably from the surface of nearby occupation-sites. Fortunately for the interpretation of what would otherwise have been a very indeterminate stratigraphy, the earthen tips were found to be punctuated by three very rough walls, or dumps, of stone, laid roughly parallel with the main wall at distances of approximately 4, 10 and 15 m. from its inner face. These were undoubtedly contemporary with the initial building of the rampart, and their function must have been to retain the tail of the bank at three successive phases of its construction. This would have been very useful during the building of the wall (which would have involved a great deal of trampling over the tips of the half-finished rampart), and it would have given greater stability to the finished mass. Nothing was found to suggest that the rampart at this point incorporated any great masses of stone, such as were found south of the gate in 1957, and can be seen exposed immediately north of the gate (p. 77). Apart from the defences on either side of the gate (where the lower ground and the proximity of the gate itself imposed special problems), the rampart was probably built mainly of earth throughout its length.

As in the section cut in 1957, the material found in the tips that constituted the rampart is of every period from the first occupation of the hill-top onwards. It is only the latest pieces that are chronologically significant, and these confirm the evidence of the previous year in indicating a date for the building of the rampart within the second half of the fifth century. The detailed evidence for this will be discussed in Part 2 of the Report.

For the function of the rampart-wall and the appearance of the finished defences, see below, p. 79.

5. *Features exposed behind the rampart and on the brow of the north-eastern slopes of the plateau* (figs. 10, 12).

Beneath the tail of the rampart, for a considerable distance to the east of the Rectangular Timber Building, there was an area that was completely barren of earlier remains except for a few scattered pits or post-holes. Beyond this, however, the pilot trench (V15) struck an intricate network of post-holes and gullies, which was subsequently opened up towards the south (V16/19) to disclose an area of

some 22 sq. m. of the natural tufa surface; immediately to the east of this was a large oval pit (Pit 1), in the filling of which were substantial tips of occupation debris, and to the east of this again, and cut through by it, a low bank or accumulation of earth on the extreme edge of the steeply scarped north-eastern slopes of the plateau. A second section cut into the edge of the plateau a short distance to the north of the first (V12) revealed the same scarped edge and, running obliquely towards it, a *cuniculus*, which had been deliberately cut open and filled with packed earth, stones and other debris.

By opening up a substantial area to the south of the pilot trench (V16/19), it was hoped that some intelligible pattern might emerge from the medley of intersecting post-holes and gullies which are all that has survived of the successive structures occupying the site. This hope was only partially fulfilled, since none of the structures so revealed was complete, and since here, as elsewhere on this exposed hill-top, it seems to have been the practice of successive occupants of the site to clear virtually down to bedrock before building, thus obliterating all hope of useful stratigraphical correlation.

The most obviously coherent feature was a line of four post-holes (P44–47) and a gully (G16) running obliquely north and south across the trench (pl. XX). The holes, which average some 40–45 cm. in diameter and 40–50 cm. in depth, must have carried very substantial timbers; and between the two outer pairs and continuing beyond them, beyond the limits of the excavation, were two shallow, rectangular slots (18 cm. across by 10–14 cm. deep), leaving only a 105 cm. gap between the two central post-holes. This feature, with its distinctive pattern and decisive alignment, closely resembles the outer wall of the Timber House, and may itself be part of a house of which the rest lies outside the area excavated or has been obliterated by later features (by the large pit to the east?) Alternatively it may be interpreted as the sockets for the uprights and intermediate breastwork of a very substantial timber fence, with a small gate or passage-way passing through it.

Cutting across this 'palisade', and forming a seemingly purposeful right-angle on a slightly different alignment, were the two arms of a long, rectilinear gully (G15), with a rounded corner. It appears to have been somewhat later than the 'palisade,' being cut down through, instead of sealed by, the layer equivalent to AA′–11. It was also slighter and more carelessly cut than that connecting the post-holes of the 'palisade'; in the absence of any larger uprights, it can never have been more than a light fence. A third feature readily distinguishable from the rest was a narrow, curving, and in places rather deep, gully in the eastern half of the trench (G17a). It had been rather carelessly cut with swinging blows of a small pick, and both the alignment and the manner of its cutting showed it to be a prolongation of a shorter stretch of similar gully (G17b) which ran in a southerly direction into the side of the trench, and which was certainly contemporary with the large post-hole (P48) that separates the two stretches. Gully 17a cut through, and was certainly later than a shallow, rectangular gully (G14a), which was one of the few features that were found filled with a packing of harder material. The line of this latter gully could be traced, curving gently round towards the west and cut in succession by Gully 15a and by Post-holes 49, 48 and 44, and it was almost certainly the earliest feature of the site.

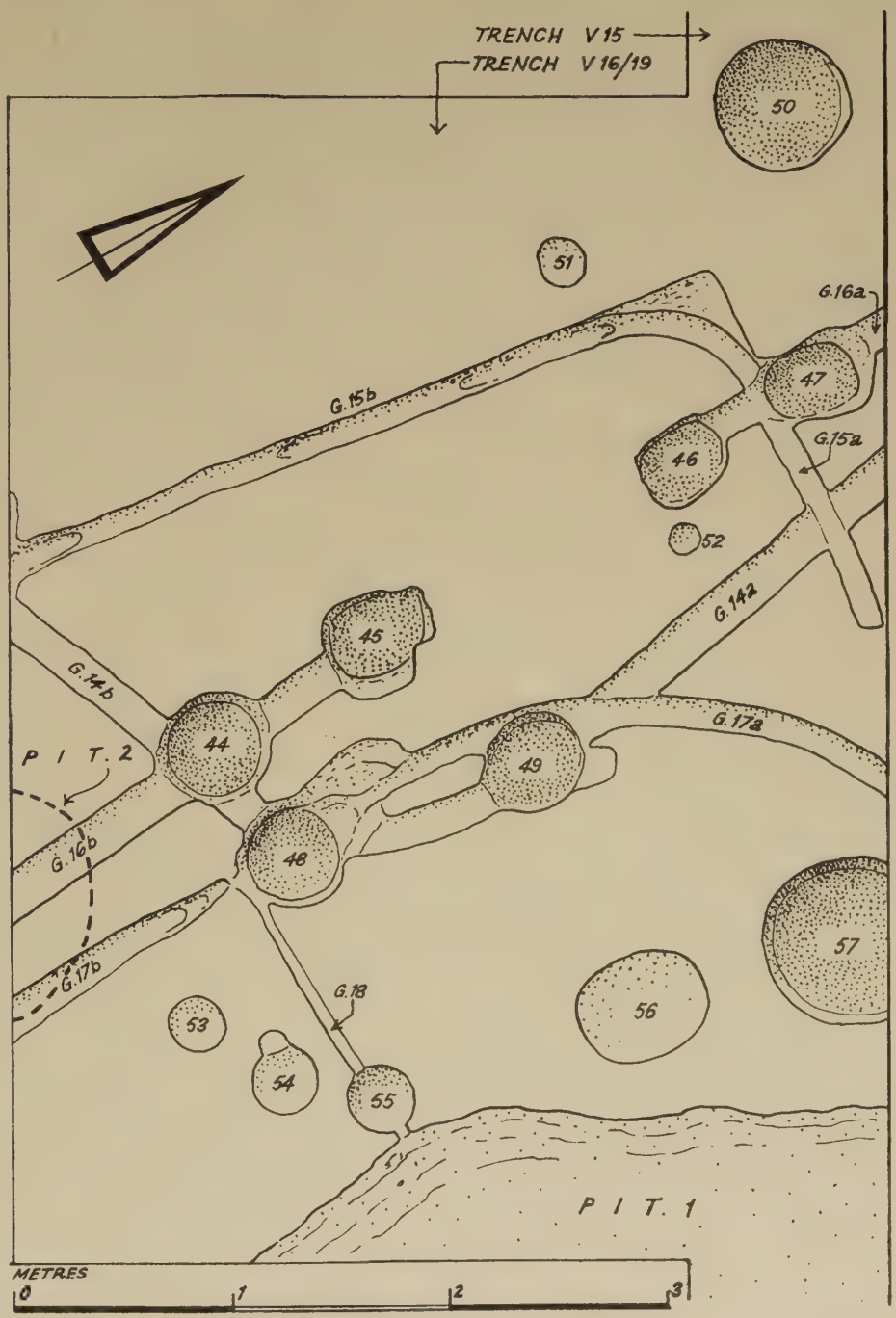

FIG. 10. POST-HOLES AND GULLIES BENEATH AND BEHIND THE TAIL OF THE RAMPART

In addition to these more or less determinate features, there were a number of scattered post-holes and small gullies which were in no very obvious relationship to each other or to any of the features already mentioned. One of these (P57), near the north-east angle, was circular and unusually large, and may have been a storage pit.

The large pit (Pit 1), of which only a segment of the lip and a section along the line of the original pilot trench were cleared, was at least 3.80 m. across, and along the line of the section (pl. XXXI) it is cut to a depth of 1.12 m. below the top of the natural rock, cutting right down through the tufa and into the stiff, chocolate, claylike *pozzolana* beneath. On the far (eastern) side the tufa capping had already been weathered (or cut) away, and resting directly on the natural clay were some 95 cm. of almost completely sterile, earthy deposit (pl. XXXI, AA′–12 and 13). The latter was already in place when the pit was dug; but whether it represents a gradual accumulation, or lynchet, along the slightly lower-lying lip of the plateau, or whether it is what it remains of an otherwise unattested early bank thrown up along the edge to supplement the defensive scarping of the slope, there is no means of deciding. The fill of the pit consisted of a series of tips thrown in from the western edge. The first of these (pl. XXXI, AA′–15), deposited when the pit was first cut, was made up entirely of chips of tufa. Others, notably 16–18, included a quantity of occupation-debris; and in the top of the fill along the western edge there was a great deal of burnt clay. If, as seems likely, the *cuniculus* found in the next trench to the north (V12) drained this pit, it can hardly have been a simple rubbish pit; and yet, in the absence of any silty deposit, it can hardly have stood open for any length of time.

Once again the whole area proved to be disappointingly barren of undisturbed occupation material. Either successive occupants of the site had cleared it down to the hard, easily-drained tufa (although in that case one might reasonably have expected to find some sort of firm packing over the softer fill of the disused holes and gullies); or else the whole area was stripped when the rampart was built. Apart from a thin trampled deposit, the fill above all these features was a compact, grey-brown earth indistinguishable from the body of the rampart as exposed elsewhere in V15, and representing presumably the spread of the rampart after its destruction. Only at one point, in the southern part of V16/19, towards the south-eastern angle, was there a quantity of occupation material; and on close examination this proved to be the fill of a pit (Pit 2) that had been dug down through the overlying deposit. There is a reasonable presumption that some of the occupation material found in this pit may come from the buildings in V16/19; but there is nothing to indicate from which of the several successive phases.

The principal question, however, that remains unanswered within this part of excavation is that of the defences, if any, on the reverse (north-eastern) slope of the hill. It seems *prima facie* improbable that the flank of the impressive defensive system drawn across the neck of the promontory would have been left entirely undefended, particularly since there are clear traces of a large rampart and wall running along the crest of the same slopes barely 200 m. to the south-east; and yet no definite trace of any such defences was forthcoming, either in the main section (AA′) or in a further trench, V12, cut into the brow of the slope a short distance

to the north with this specific problem in mind (Section FF′, fig. 12). The latter had the misfortune to encounter extensive disturbance in the form of the filled-in remains of a *cuniculus* running obliquely into the hillside immediately below the crest, and it was able, therefore, to give little direct information about the defences, although indirectly it offers a suggestive parallel to the situation revealed by the excavations of 1957 (p. 43). In the main section, what had at first seemed possibly to be the remains of a modest rampart (AA′–12, 13) proved on further examination to be of much earlier date, being cut by the diggers of Pit 1. The rampart, if there was one, can only be represented by two tips (AA′–26, 27) which overlie the fill of Pit 1, and which might reasonably be interpreted as the tail of a larger, upstanding feature of which the rest has now been destroyed.

If it is hard to believe that this by no means inaccessible flank would have been left undefended, it is no less hard to understand how a substantial rampart, presumably incorporating (as at all other recorded points in the defensive circuit of Veii) a solid masonry wall, or revetment, could have disappeared leaving so little visible trace within the section. A possible solution to the dilemma is suggested by the result of the small supplementary excavation undertaken in June 1959 near the north-east (Capena) gate, which is briefly described on p. 79 of this report. This excavation showed (and subsequent field-work has since confirmed) that along the flanks of the valleys which constitute the natural defenses of Veii the rampart walls are not set along the crest of the slope, as the present-day profile of the hillside might suggest, but as much as 8 m. below and 6–7 m. forward from it, supporting a massive artificial fill of earth along the crest itself. It may well be, therefore, that the excavations of 1958 were not pressed far enough forward and down the slope to give conclusive results. For the present the question must clearly remain open.

Another open question is that of the date and purpose of the *cuniculus* in trench V12. That it was deliberately filled in, and that this filling took place at a late stage in the history of Etruscan Veii, is certain from the pottery found within it. There is, on the other hand, no trace of it within the main section, although this was cut to a depth considerably greater than that of its presumed roof. The most probable answer is that it was quite short and was cut to drain the large pit (Pit 1) exposed in Section AA′, which was itself certainly filled in before the final stage in the history of this part of the site, as represented by levels AA′–26 and 27.

The following post-holes, gullies and pits were found in the area excavated beneath the tail of the rampart and immediately behind it.

(a) *in trenches V*16/19 *and in the corresponding stretch of V*15 (fig. 10)

P44. Deep, well cut and roughly circular post-hole, with stony upper filling; diam. 46 cm., depth 60 cm. This post-hole and P45 are associated with G16b and belong to the same complex as P46, P47 and G16a, either one wall of a building, of which the corresponding wall has been destroyed by Pit 1, or else part of a palisade and gate on the eastern edge of the knoll. Six sherds of hand-made impasto, two of coarse ware, one of red impasto and one of wheel-turned advanced impasto.

P45. Roughly rectangular post-hole tapering to an oval base; 45 × 50 cm., depth about 40 cm. Associated with P44, *q.v.* Three sherds of plain and one of advanced impasto; also a flat, everted rim with concentric grooves on the upper surface, probably of wheel-turned red impasto.

P46. Rectangular post-hole, with rounded corners and well cut, vertical sides; 34 × 44 cm., depth 43 cm. Associated with P47 and G16a, and belonging to the same complex as P44, *q.v.* One sherd of coarse ware and one of impasto.

P47. Roughly oval post-hole, damaged superficially and tapering to an oval base; 37 × 42 cm depth 44 cm. Associated with P46 and G16a. No finds.

P48. Deep, roughly circular post-hole with sheer sides; diam. 43–46 cm., depth 61 cm. Probably associated with G17a and 17b. Three sherds of impasto, two of coarse ware, and two of wheel-turned advanced impasto.

P49. Roughly circular post-hole, cutting into G17a and set squarely across the line of G14a; diam. 53–54 cm., depth 40 cm. Eight sherds of plain impasto and four of coarse ware, one of which is from a very heavy dolium; also two sherds of advanced impasto, one of which is decorated with small, deeply incised chevrons.

P50. Large circular post-hole or small pit, diam. 55–58 cm., depth 56 cm.; sealed by level AA′–11. Three sherds of plain impasto, three of coarse ware, one of red impasto and one of advanced impasto.

P51. Shallow, roughly circular hole; diam. 20–22 cm., depth 8 cm. No finds.

P52. Small, circular post-hole; diam. 12 cm., depth 20 cm. No finds.

P53. Roughly circular hole, diam. 14–15 cm., depth 20 cm. No finds.

P54. Circular post-hole, with a small semicircular slot in one side; diam. 25 cm., depth 15 cm. One small sherd of wheel-turned soft red ware, with traces of red paint externally.

P55. Roughly circular post-hole; diam. 31 cm., depth 24 cm. Associated with the narrow gully G18. Two sherds of coarse ware; one of black burnished impasto with combed decoration, and one plain impasto rim.

P56. Large, oblong post-hole or small pit; 47 × 66 cm., depth 30 cm. Seven sherds of hand-made impasto and one of advanced impasto.

P57. Large, deep hole, probably a pit, with well cut, almost vertical sides, dug down through the tufa into the underlying *pozzolana*; cut by the north face of V15 (pl. XXXI, section AA′). Fifteen sherds of hand-made impasto, including two with tooled cordons, and five of hand-made coarse ware.

G14a. Shallow, square-cut gully, 16 cm. wide and 7 cm. deep, curving round to join G14b; carefully packed with small stones and sealed by level AA′–11. Cut by G17a and by P48 and P49. No finds.

G14b. Shallow, square-cut gully, 14 cm. wide and 6 cm. deep, probably continuous with G14a; cut by P44. No finds.

G15a, 15b. Narrow, square-cut gully, 10–12 cm. across and 18–20 cm. deep, forming the arms of a rectangular structure; at the corner there is a sharp angle marked out and partly cut, but the actual gully is rounded. No finds.

G16a. Shallow, rectangular slot, 18 cm. wide and 12 cm. deep; associated with P46 and P47. It is sealed by level AA′–11. No finds.

G16b. Shallow, rectangular slot, 17–18 cm. wide and 13 cm. deep; similar to G16a and associated with P44 and P45. It is sealed by level AA′–11. No finds.

G17a. Narrow, curving, and in places deeply cut gully, 13 cm. wide and 23–28 cm. deep, rather carelessly cut with diagonal blows of a small pick; almost certainly contemporary with P48 and G17b. No finds.

G17b. Very similar to G17a, *q.v.*, but rather wider (16 cm.). It ends up against P48 and is sealed by level AA′–11. No finds.

G18. Very narrow slot, 6 cm. wide and 11 cm. deep, probably associated with P55. The east end has been cut away by Pit 1. No finds.

Pit 1. Large rock-cut pit, visible in Section AA′ (pl. XXXI; cf. fig. 10) immediately to the east of the group of post-holes and gullies listed and described above. It is certainly later than some of these (*e.g.* the structures to which G17a and G18 belong), and also than levels AA′–12, 13 and (visible in the E face of V16/19) the equivalent of AA′–11. Except for the rampart and the feature of which AA′–26, 27 is all that now survives, sealing the fills within Pit 1 (see further p. 71), this and Pit 2 are probably the latest features on the site. It may have been drained by the *cuniculus* exposed in trench V12, but otherwise there is nothing to show what purpose it served.

Pit 2. The lower part of a pit or scoop, exposed in section in the south face of trench V16/19 (cf. fig. 10), where it cuts into and is later than the layers corresponding to AA′–11, and is itself sealed by the equivalent of AA′–28. Like Pit 1, a late feature.

(b) *in trench V*15, *in the stretch immediately to the west of P*50. *For P*42, *P*43, *see pl. XXXI, section AA′; they do not figure in the published plans. P*43*a*, *P*43*b figure neither in the section nor in the published plans.*

P42. Post-hole or pit, probably circular, visible in section (AA′, pl. XXXI) in the north face of trench V15; diam. 48 cm., more than 60 cm. deep. No finds.

P43. Roughly circular post-hole (see Section AA′, pl. XXXI), with stone packing, sloping down to a socket for a round post against the east face; diam. 60 cm. (diam. of socket 28 cm.), depth 22 cm. Sealed by level AA′–11. Three sherds of red impasto, one of bucchero, and two of very fine, wheel-turned, advanced impasto imitating bucchero.

P43a. Post-hole, probably circular, cut by the south face of trench V15, opposite and slightly to the west of P42; diam. 44 cm., depth 32 cm. Sealed by level AA′–11. Two sherds of heavy, hand-made impasto, three of plain impasto and two of red impasto.

P43b. Small, circular post-hole, 1 m. west of P50 (centre to centre) in the middle of trench V15; diam. 18 cm., depth 12 cm. Sealed by level AA′–11. No finds.

III. NOTES ON THE SECTIONS

(a) *Excavations of* 1957

Sections AA′ (from east to west along the whole excavated length of trench V1), BB′ (from east to west through the gap in the rampart wall) and CC′ (along the north and east faces of the eastern part of trench V1, within the body of the rampart). Pl. XXIX (AA′, BB′) and fig. 3 (CC′).

1. *Cuniculi*, broken open from above and packed with stones and clay. The latter has tended to settle towards the bottom, while there has been a corresponding seepage from above into the upper levels. See also the frontal elevation of the wall (pl. XXIX), in which the wall itself can be seen to have sagged into the fill of two intersecting, truncated *cuniculi*.

2–4. Successive deposits of dark occupation material, including the contents (2) of a well-defined pit. Layers 3 and 4 were consistently distinguishable during excavation and are here shown as distinct, but there is nothing in the contents to suggest any substantial lapse of time between the two. Layer 4 contained a number of features which could not be followed up within the confined space available, notably streaks and pockets of clay (some of it burnt) and what may have been the scar of a burnt timber. Along the north side it was bounded by a very definite line of flattish stones (pl. XII, *c*), up against which one of the bands of yellow clay stopped along a no less definite line, an observation which certainly suggests that the stones and the occupation were associated. In view, however, of the coincidence in plan between this line and that of the southern edge of the mass of stones constituting the body of the rampart above (CC′–14), it is hard to be certain of this. Layers 2–4 certainly represent pre-rampart occupation *in situ*.

5. The rampart wall, resting directly upon the natural, claylike *pozzolana*, except here and there for a very thin trample level (cf. pl. XI, *a*). Three varieties of tufa are represented in the stretch of wall examined in 1957: a reddish lithoid tufa with black pumices; a granular grey tufa; and a volcanic conglomerate with lava and calcareous pieces. All can be quarried locally.

6. Sloping tips of clay, stratified between successive tips of 7. That shown in BB′ corresponds exactly with the second course of the rampart wall; there were several smaller but comparable tips elsewhere within 7.

7. Dry, powdery tips of broken tufa and tufa-dust, white or greyish white and very loosely packed; the debris from the dressing of the squared blocks of the rampart wall. The tip-lines all slope downwards and outwards from the rampart wall in both directions, and in several cases they coincide precisely with the horizontal joints between the successive courses, showing that wall and rampart rose simultaneously. In BB′ (drawn after the completion of excavation, with most of the flank of the gap through the wall exposed in elevation) the second and sixth courses can be seen to rest wholly or in part directly on tips of 7; previously, during clearance, the tips behind the wall could be seen to run right through the gap and to be continuous with those in front (see pl. XXIX, frontal elevation of wall). It is certain that the rampart rose with the wall, course by course; the gap in the wall is a transient feature, of which only one, or at most two, courses were ever visible at any one moment, for a brief period during construction.

8. Thick, sloping tip of clay containing a quantity of redeposited occupation material.

9. Grey earth containing considerable pockets of large stones and isolated boulders. There was a certain amount of rather indeterminate later disturbance just above the figure 9 in AA′ but, apart from the greater or lesser admixture of stones, the whole mass is otherwise very homogeneous.
10. Similar to 9; probably the tail of the same deposit.
11. Thick tip, or tips, of clay, similar to 8; within trench V1 it tapers sharply from south to north (cf. CC′–11).
12. Massive dump of stones, some of them very large and including several squared and moulded blocks. Although the eastern and western limits of this mass were reasonably finite at the point investigated, it could never have stood independently; 11, 12 and 13 must all be part of a single dumping operation.
13. Earth containing pockets of clay and some large stones, with progressively more of the latter towards the eastern end of the trench.
14. Massive dump of stones, similar to 12. Although, like 12, it can never have been self-standing, the limits of it are remarkably clear and consistent (cf. pl. XII, *c*).

The surface of the natural rock throughout the area covered by Sections AA′, BB′ and CC′ is a stiff, chocolate-coloured, clay-like *pozzolana*, quite easy to cut when first excavated but hardening rapidly on exposure. As is evident from the truncated profiles of the several *cuniculi* and from the absence of any trace either of humus or of occupation deposit from the front half of the main section the builders of the rampart dressed the whole area down to an even surface before starting to build the actual rampart. The only pre-rampart occupation-levels still in position are layers 2–4, although the successive layers of clay (6, 8, 11) are no doubt derived more or less directly from the surface and from the stripping of similar occupation-levels.

(b) *Excavations of* 1958

Section AA′ (from west to east across the whole length of the excavated area) and Sections BB′ and CC′ (parallel to AA′ and north and south of it, respectively). Pl. XXXI (AA′) and fig. 11 (BB′ and CC′).

1. Remains of early occupation still in position, not stripped by later builders. Though readily distinguishable at the points illustrated, elsewhere (e.g. over the greater part of Trench V14) this layer tends to merge with and to be indistinguishable from the equivalent of layer 3, i.e. redeposited early rubbish.
2. Shallow, rock-cut scoop containing occupation material, probably throw-out from the early huts on the crest.
3. As 2, but with the addition of a number of large stones, apparently laid purposefully (cf. plan, pl. XXX), and an admixture of later pottery, suggesting that this is, in part at any rate, redeposited material.
4. Layer of tightly-packed chips of yellow tufa, laid over the filling of the post-holes and gullies of the Rectangular Timber Building and its predecessors as a foundation for the Stone Building. It is continuous with the make-up of the narrow platform visible in Section CC′ between the kerb and the bench.
5. Tips of earth and stones constituting the make-up for the floors within the Stone Building. These are particularly well preserved in BB′ (cf. pl. XIX *a*), whereas in AA′ they have been disturbed except for a short stretch to the left of the inner wall, cut by the foundation trench (10) of the rampart wall; preserved again in the southern half of V17, where they incorporate several large, flat stones, presumably as an additional precaution against settlement in an area that was heavily pitted with earlier post-holes and gullies (pl. XVII, *a*; cf. pl. XVII, *b*). P40 is cut from this level, the upper surface of which was clearly traceable by the thin, very distinctive, greenish layer of disintegrated tufa which, throughout the excavation, was found to mark surfaces that had been exposed to trampling or weather.
6. Layer of clay and some stones in the bottom of the drainage scoop associated with the Stone Building; it antedates the laying of the stone kerb. Only preserved in CC′; in AA′ it was removed prior to the building of the rampart.
7. Clay capped by a trample of lumps of yellow tufa, the latter probably associated with the construction of the rampart, whereas the former must represent a gradual accumulation within the drainage scoop. Only preserved in CC′ (cf. levels 8, 9).

8, 9. Earth and small stones (8) and earth with a mud trample (9), representing the fill of the drainage scoop after the removal of the southern stretch of the stone kerb and of its associated levels, 6 and 7. Only in AA′ and BB′.

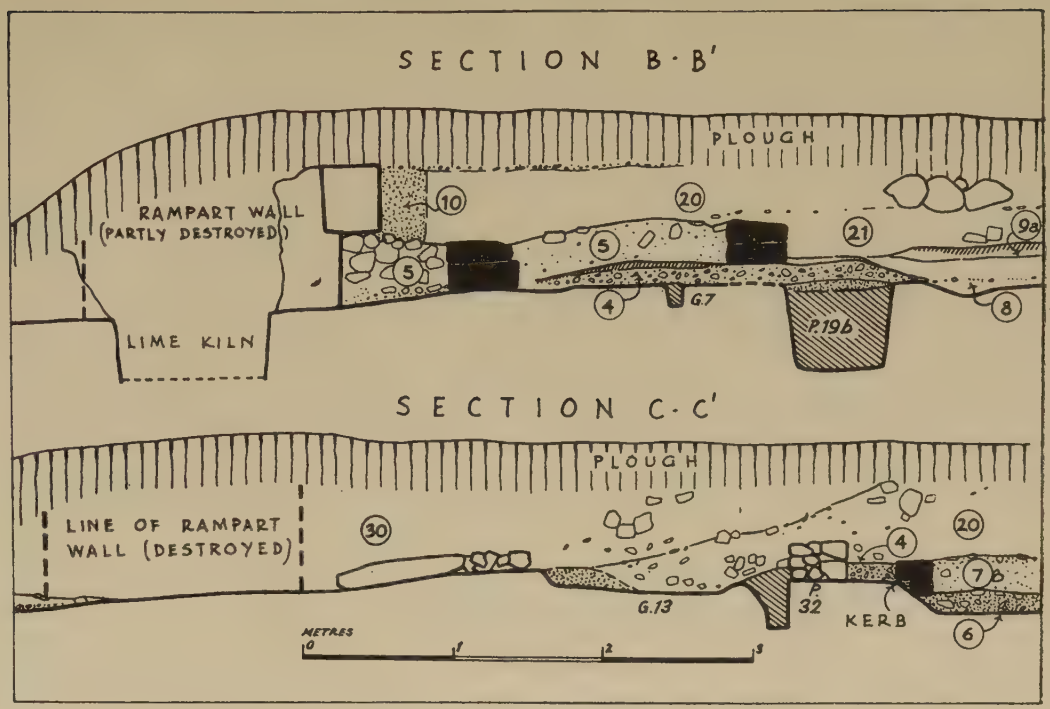

Fig. 11. Excavations of 1958 (for key, see pp. 74–6)

10. Successive foundation trenches for the individual courses of the rampart wall. Within the area excavated their occurrence was sporadic, i.e. there was no consistent relationship between wall and bank, the latter being in places cut by, and in places laid up against, the stones of the wall.
11. With the exception of the contents of Pits 1 and 2, both probably redeposited, this is the only surviving occupation layer in the area underlying and extending eastwards from the tail of the rampart, any earlier or later occupation layers having been stripped right away. It seals the fills of P43a and 43b (not on AA′) and 43, and of G14a and 16a, and it could be traced in section round the west and south sides of V16/19, where it seals G17b, is missing over G16b (having been removed by Pit 2) and appears to have been cut away by G15b. Over the rest of V16/19 it was too indeterminate for stratigraphic certainty.
12, 13. Layer of claylike *pozzolana* (12) resting on bedrock and separated by a band of crushed tufa from a second, very similar layer (13). Both are cut by Pit 1.
14. Soil and stones resting against the forward edge of 12 and 13, which appear to have been cut back at this point. Either a natural accumulation, or else, possibly, the vestigial remains of a destroyed feature along the crest of the reverse slope of the hill; cf. 26, 27.
15. Loose chunks of tufa, tipped into Pit 1 from the west and overlying a small pocket of rapid silt.
16, 17. Further tips, of which 16 is of a generally claylike consistency, whereas 17 contains many traces of burning; both contain a quantity of occupation debris.
18. Group of rather varied tips, capped by several trample levels.
19. Earth and stones, the remains of a sloping bank up against the face of the rampart wall.
20–25. Successive tips of earth and stones, constituting the main body of the rampart behind the rampart wall. There is very little differentation between the materials of the individual tips, which are chiefly distinguishable by means of the tip-lines of small stones and by their relation to the three rough walls which served to contain the successive phases of the rampart's construction.
26, 27. Bank of earth with a few stones (26), very similar in consistency to the tips that constitute the main rampart, and, overlying it, a more stony layer (27). The clearly marked slope of

these two layers (and of layer 28) suggests that they are part of a larger, upstanding feature of which the eastern part has been destroyed, possibly a secondary defensive bank protecting the reverse flank of the main defences (see p. 71). If so, the greater part of this feature has been destroyed, either in antiquity or else by erosion and ploughing down the steeply scarped north-eastern slopes; layer 14 may also belong to this feature.

28, 29. Earth accumulated upon the tail of 26, 27 and behind the main rampart.

30. Recent disturbance, particularly marked in the north-western part of V17 (fig. 11, section CC′).

The rampart wall is here composed uniformly of a greenish-grey lithoid tufa, quarried locally.

Section DD′ and EE′, just below the crest of the hill, to the south of the main excavation. Fig. 7 (p. 54).

1–5. Successive deposits down the sloping rock face just below the brow of the hill. Layer 3 is a consistent line of charcoal, and 5 a thick deposit of the same material. The presence of these and other similar, regularly bedded tips indicates that these deposits represent a gradual accumulation from the occupation sites just above, rather than the debris of one of the more radical acts of clearance to which the top of the hill was several times subjected. Layer 1 overlies G2f. It will be noted that the run of the gullies and the bedding of the tips suggest that the natural crest of the hill is here swinging eastwards, obliquely to the line of the trench and of the present, artificial crest, which is that of the fifth-century defences.

Section FF′, from the south-west into the crest of the reverse (north-east) face of the hillside (V12). Fig. 12.

1. Pocket of dark earth containing occupation material and early sherds.

2–4. Layers of clay (2), stones and earth (3) and clay (4), overlying 1 and cut by the trench of the *cuniculus*; the equivalent of AA′–12, 13.

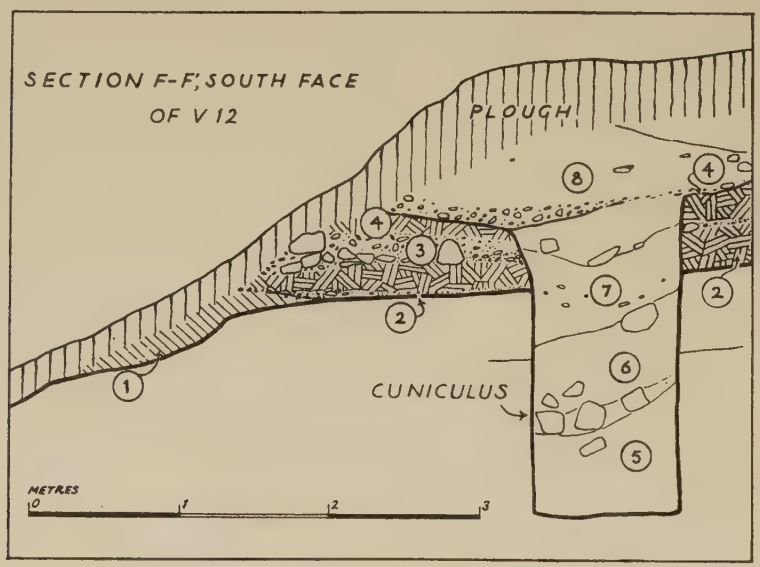

Fig. 12. Trench V12, Section F-F′

5–7. Filling of the *cuniculus*; layer 6 is darker than the rest and contains large quantities of pottery.

8. Bank of earth sealing the *cuniculus*; the equivalent of AA′–26.

Exposed in the trench of the *cuniculus* is a section of the natural rock, revealing (from top to bottom) : claylike *pozzolana*, granular grey tufa, and a further bed of claylike *pozzolana*.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Any discussion of the chronology of these finds must await the detailed study of the stratified pottery, now in progress. For the present it must be sufficient to

note that they appear to cover, without a break, the full range of the occupation of the site of Veii, from the earliest Villanovan settlement down to the destruction of the city in 396 B.C.; that the first phase continued at least as late as the introduction of red impasto ware; and that the fortifications, the examination of which was the primary object of the excavations, belong to a late stage of the city's history, almost certainly within the last half-century before its destruction. The evidence for these and any other chronological conclusions will be discussed in the second part of this Report, and their broader historical implications in the general account of Veii and its antiquities which it is hoped to have ready for inclusion in Vol. XXVIII of this *Papers*. In the meantime it may be useful to call attention to one or two particular points arising from the excavations.

One rather unexpected result is that in several respects the configuration of the ground has changed greatly since the site was first occupied early in the first millenium B.C. This is most readily calculable in the case of the skyline visible in plate X, *a* and of its continuation southward towards the Caere Gate, along the stretch overlooking the Ponte del Fosso. A short distance to the right of the cutting that carries the ancient road up to the plateau the excavations of 1957 show the natural ground-level to lie at a depth of 3 m. below the present surface. On the site of the cutting itself (which no doubt follows the natural dip) this figure is probably slightly greater. Within the 1958 excavations, on the other hand, there is barely a metre of soil between the present surface and the natural rock along the brow of the hill, and just behind it the crest of the hill shows signs of actual levelling downwards during and immediately after the first phases of human occupation. These are not very large figures; but, taken in conjunction with the surface indications, they are enough to show that the present, very natural-looking, scarp edge is an entirely artificial feature. The settlement of which the 1958 excavations have revealed a part did not at first occupy a promontory projecting from the main plateau within the city, but was situated on a semi-independent knoll of gently-rolling, higher ground, similar to these which housed the Villanovan cemeteries dependent upon it. The present contours are the result of the building and subsequent destruction of the rampart and wall which formed the defences of the latest phase of the Etruscan city.

This conclusion explains, and is itself confirmed by, several other observations. On the north side of the road-cutting and about 10 m. from the edge of it, the grassy surface of the hillside has been broken open just below the brow, exposing a loose tumble of large rocks and smaller stones (visible in pl. X, *a* as a dark shadow immediately below the skyline). This feature, which has evidently suggested to some clandestine excavator the possibility of a tomb-filling, must in fact be part of the core of the rampart, which consisted here, as in the section excavated in 1957, of massive tips of loose stone. The actual wall must have followed a more direct line, just forward from the present crest, and the foundations of it, if any still survive, lie further down the slope; all the rest has collapsed forwards down the steep hillside, giving to the line of defences a decided but (as is now evident) fallacious appearance of incurving towards the site of the gate. The heavy tips of loose stone which figured so prominently in the excavations of 1957 are explained as giving body to an artificial structure of far greater size and mass than is at first

sight apparent. It is very unlikely that much of the actual gateway has survived; but even so, one can see that it must have been an impressive and commanding structure.

There have been other changes too in the natural lie of the ground, although, in default of further excavation, these are less easy to document. There can be very little doubt, for example, that the builders of the rampart steepened the slopes in front of the defences; and it is by no means impossible that, in addition to the actual cutting that houses the present road to Formello (which is demonstrably artificial), the valleys on either side of the saddle may have been widened and deepened. The level of the ancient road as it approached the city can have differed very little from that of the present farm-track immediately to the west of the modern road, which has cut about 1 m. into the ancient surface at the point where it crosses the saddle. To the east of the road, on the other hand, within the cutting that marks the site of the ancient gate, the levels have deepened very considerably. The latest deepening is evidently of quite recent date, as can be seen from the metalling exposed in section along the south face of the cutting near the bottom; but it has probably been going on steadily ever since the Roman road-surface broke up, leaving the massive *selce* paving-blocks visible in section at intervals along the north face, along a line which shows that the first stretch of the descent from the plateau was even more gradual than that of the present track.[5] Whereas the rampart at this point was far larger than is now apparent, the cutting for the road was not nearly so deep as it is today.

There have also been changes within the circuit of the ramparts. It is very likely that after the capture of the city in 396 this important sector of the defences was deliberately slighted; and cultivation and weathering have since combined to spread what remained of the ramparts eastwards and south-eastwards into the shallow valley which separates the site of the 1958 excavations from the main plateau. The extent and depth of this spread is perhaps indicated by the level of the Roman paving exposed in the site of the Roman road-cutting; the earth above it is certainly field soil, and the paving may very well mark the approximate level of the old surface along the line of the ancient ridgeway track. To the south of the road the spread is less marked and in an afternoon light the tail of the rampart can still be clearly seen from the high ground a short distance to the east.

The principal conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that when this part of the site of Veii was first settled, and for some time thereafter, its physical appearance was very different from that which it presents nowadays. The site of the 1958 excavations was an isolated eminence, the most prominent of a number of distinct rounded hills projecting to right and left of the ridgeway track as it wound its way up the crest of the saddle on to the higher ground of the main inhabited plateau. The Villanovan village perched upon this eminence must have been in some sort of political relationship to the other contemporary settlements grouped within the circuit of the plateau of Veii; but for a time at any rate it appears to have been a distinct community within the larger organism, with its own village site and with its own cemeteries. Later on there may have been some

[5] About half-way up the cutting paving-blocks can be seen in section in the north bank nearly 3 m. above the present road-surface.

blurring of these distinctions. Odd sherds of decorated Villanovan ware turned up in the 1957 excavations, suggesting that there may have been isolated huts on the high ground to the south of the road, between the Vulci and the Caere gates; and to the north of the road a number of such sherds have been found, ploughed out, on the slopes just below the edge of the plateau, immediately to the east of the valley that divides the 1958 site from the main plateau. Unless there was a cemetery here (a possibility which would require demonstration by excavation), these must mark the beginning of an expansion beyond the limits of the original settlement,[6] an expansion which, to judge from the distribution of sherds of the seventh and sixth centuries, was soon to cover a large part of the north-western end of the plateau of Veii.

What, if any, further conclusions can be drawn about the fifth-century defences? From the excavations it is certain that they consisted of a substantial tufa wall and a large rampart of earth and stones; and that, although the bulk of the rampart lay behind the wall, the wall was nevertheless internal to it, at any rate up to the height preserved, with earth heaped against the outer as well as the inner faces. It seemed a reasonable inference that above a certain height the outer face of the wall would have been free-standing, forming a vertical front to the main bulk of the rampart; but there did not seem to be any way of verifying this, since the outer face of the wall was nowhere preserved more than four courses high.

Fortunately, further search has since revealed stretches of walling which, by the accident of their position, are far better preserved. One of these, near the north-east (Capena) gate, was examined in detail by Mr. John Crawley in May 1959. At this point the ground drops steeply towards the river, and the wall, being situated well forward from the crest and some distance down the slope, is preserved to a height of no less than twelve courses. Of these the top seven are carefully dressed to a uniform surface and were certainly meant to be seen; the bottom four are left rough, just as in the stretches examined near the north-west gate; while the fifth course from the bottom is partly dressed and partly rough, along a line which clearly represents the top of the earth heaped against the wall-face. The reason for such an arrangement is not hard to guess. To set the wall right on the edge of the slope would have been to invite collapse; to leave a flat platform immediately in front of it would, on the other hand, have nullified much of its defensive value. By carrying the slope of the glacis up to the wall-face the builders were able to achieve structural stability without loss of defensive advantage, while the vertical wall-face above presented what under primitive conditions of warfare must have been a virtually impregnable obstacle to any attacking force.

The schematic reconstruction given in plate XXXI is clearly hypothetical in several important details, such as the height of the wall or the nature of the parapet. There is, on the other hand, quite enough evidence to show that this was the general form of the defences which so long baffled Roman ingenuity, and which must, by their example, have exercised a powerful influence on the art of fortification in central Italy at the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

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[6] That this was an occupation site rather than a cemetery is suggested by the discovery here (Oct. 1959) of part of a typical domestic hearth-stand.

REPUBLICAN CAPUA: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDY

(Plate XXI)

I. INTRODUCTION

It is the aim of the following pages to study the evidence for the condition and economy of Capua in the period of the Roman Republic, and to suggest some fresh conclusions on its role in the more general evolution of Roman commerce and influence.[1] For two centuries or more after the Second Punic War, until other more favoured and more extensive regions of the empire began to compete with Italian agriculture and industry, the cities of Campania maintained a certain degree of primacy over others in the peninsula. Among these, Capua had for long held the chief political power, and even after its defeat by the Romans in 211 B.C., retained some degree of prestige throughout antiquity. Before her defection to Hannibal, Capua might be ranked with Carthage or Corinth in wealth and power;[2] and even at the other end of antiquity, in the fourth century A.D., Capua was the third city of Italy, next only to Rome and Aquileia, a position substantially retained in the Dark Ages and in later history.[3] The general outlines of this development have, indeed, found a place in modern studies;[4] of Capua's earlier history and civilisation there has been full and illuminating discussion, and much attention has been devoted to the constitutional relations between Capua and Rome in the fourth and third centuries B.C.[5] Yet the period after 211 B.C., when Capua was forced into political subjection and dependence upon Rome, a period equally important and hardly less obscure, has suffered comparative neglect. It is true that political problems of a kind did not cease. The most vexatious was that concerning the disposal of the territories confiscated from Capua and its dependencies, the *ager Campanus*; this question, and the recurrent agitations in Roman politics connected with it, it is hoped to consider elsewhere. The following pages are concerned rather with the nature of local conditions in Capua, for which there is a considerable body of information, and will attempt to consider its place in the Roman economy and in the extension of Roman influence.

The plan of the study may be briefly indicated. Part I contains preliminary remarks upon the state of the evidence and the historical position of Capua in the Republic. Part II is devoted to a discussion of the inscriptions of the Campanian

[1] The importance of personal inspection of material in what follows makes it the more agreeable to thank those who have made this possible: Prof. A. Maiuri, Superintendent of Antiquities in Campania, for his generous permission; Dott. M. Napoli and Dott. G. O. Onorato for help in various practical ways; Prof. A. De Franciscis for valuable information; and Ing. Garofano, curator of the Museo Campano, for his kind and courteous assistance. Further, thanks are due to Mr. Russell Meiggs and Miss Joyce Reynolds for salutary criticisms; and to Mr. J. B. Ward-Perkins, to whom directly and indirectly, this study owes a great deal.

[2] Cic. *leg. agr.* ii, 86–87; *Phil.* xii, 7. Plut. *Fab.* 17, 4. Florus, 2, 18.

[3] Ausonius, *Ordo urb. nob.* viii.

[4] H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, ii, pp. 696–717. T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, i, pp. 181–183; v, pp. 129–135. M. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. History of the Roman Empire* (2nd. edn.), pp. 67–71.

[5] For an excellent comprehensive treatment, J. Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine des origines à la deuxième guerre punique* (Bibl. des écoles françaises: Paris 1942). Henceforth cited as 'Heurgon.'

magistri, a series of twenty-eight texts which throw interesting light upon the administration of Capua; the inscriptions are fully reproduced in an Appendix at the end of the article. Part III is concerned with the 'Campanian stelae,' a curious and distinctive group of sculptured tombstones, and certain related questions of Campanian archaeology. Finally, in Part IV, the new evidence is combined with the old in an attempt to establish certain conclusions concerning Capua in the Republican period.

Since the following study will largely concern itself with inscriptions, it will be necessary, by way of preface, to make certain comments upon their publication in the standard collection, the tenth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. In the first place, the texts ranged under Capua in that volume include all those from the territory of Capua as it was defined towards the end of the first century A.D., which differs from the territory of ancient Capua or the *ager Campanus* in various respects.[6] Atella, originally a member of the Campanian confederation, was made an independent municipality at an early date and is therefore excluded. More important, under Vespasian a considerable portion of the *ager Campanus* was ceded to Puteoli, the territory of which after that date certainly extended as far north as the modern Aversa.[7] Earlier material within these areas will thus be strictly Capuan, and will be treated as such in what follows.

Secondly, the epigraphic publications themselves require some comment. One of the peculiar problems is that of determining the origins of many inscriptions preserved in the Neapolitan collections, which (unlike similar collections in Rome) represent the spoils of some dozen flourishing cities, all in the immediate neighbourhood, with occasional strays from further afield. Mommsen placed all texts whose origins were unknown or uninferable among those of Puteoli, whence the bulk of them indubitably came. Since 1882, many adjustments have become necessary, and many stones have found homes elsewhere. Further, the volume of new material since discovered, even without the special circumstance of excavation, has been impressive, and in some cases dramatic.[8] At Capua, to be sure, the number of actual stones found since that date has been less striking than elsewhere;[9] yet the amount of secondary revision is considerable. Mommsen was obliged to lean heavily upon earlier antiquarian writers, some of them of questionable authority; the recovery and collection of these inscriptions, over a period of years, has resulted in a large harvest of improved readings and the redemption of many which had been relegated among the *Falsae vel Alienae*.[10] The most valuable single accession, however, has been the recovery of parts of a manuscript collection, hitherto believed lost, by the eighteenth-century Capuan antiquary, Alessio Mazocchi. The bulk, but by no means all, of his texts are simple sepulchral stones, of no striking historical

[6] The short-lived independence of Calatia and Casilinum is not important for the present purpose: see *CIL* X, p. 369.

[7] See Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 125. C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique*, pp. 226–228.

[8] Excluding Pompeii, Herculaneum and Minturnae, some numerical samples are revealing. From Surrentum, *CIL* X produced 89 inscriptions; since then 49 more have been found. From Stabiae, *CIL* X listed 31; a further 24 are known. Under Puteoli, *CIL* X gave 1828 inscriptions, to which some 207 must now be added, while many must be assigned elsewhere. (These figures omit Greek texts and *Instrumentum Domesticum*.)

[9] I note 88, as against 801 in *CIL* X.

[10] The most important are *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, VIII, pp. 120–134; Egbert, *Suppl. Papers of the Amer. Acad. in Rome*, ii, 1908, pp. 279–290 (hereafter cited as 'Egbert'); A. Garroni, *Rend. Acc. Linc.*, xxiv, 1915, pp. 138–144.

interest;[11] yet some 105 more texts are hereby made known for the first time, improved readings are given of twelve, and eight condemned inscriptions are now shown to be genuine. Mazocchi's honesty, acknowledged by Mommsen, is hereby confirmed and somewhat enhanced; his authority is that of a critical and reasonably industrious enquirer, though he is perhaps hardly in advance of his time.[12] Such new material cannot safely be ignored.

The facts that are known about Capua in the last two centuries of the Republic are familiar and may be briefly told. When Campania rebelled to Hannibal in 216 B.C., Rome was deprived of the mainstay of her power in central Italy. The secession involved not merely Capua itself, but collectively the entire confederation of Campanian towns which were centred there in the previous period. Atella and Calatia were included in the punishments meted out in 211 B.C., as was the otherwise unattested community of the Sabatini; another centre by the name of Velecha is known only from the rebel coinage; Casilinum, closely dependent upon its metropolis, was no doubt also punished.[13] The towns to the south and east, Naples, Acerrae, Suessula, did not suffer this chastisement; while the area to the north of the river Volturnus had long since been ceded to Rome. But within these limits, the treatment of the towns was severe. The entire territory and public buildings were made the property of the Roman people; and since Capua itself controlled land of exceptional fertility, it was not destroyed but left to house an agricultural and industrial community, which might still serve the interests of the Roman state.[14] As to the administration of the new subjects, direct literary information is scanty: justice was dispensed by the *praefecti Capuam Cumas*, sent out annually from Rome; the city itself was without status, being referred to as a mere 'receptaculum aratorum,' a 'nundinae rusticorum,' a simple inhabited centre. That Capua was in some sense an economic centre for the smaller settlements in the area is suggested by the title 'conventus Campaniae' frequently used to describe her condition.[15] The territory which Rome thus acquired, the *ager Campanus* in its familiar historical sense, was an expanse of extremely fertile plain stretching from the Monti Tifatini in the north to the tangled ridges and small volcanic craters of the Campi Flegrei which fringe the coast on the south. In the course of time, small coastal strips were redeemed to plant the Roman colonies of Puteoli, Liternum and Volturnum; it is unnecessary to follow the subsequent changes in detail, or to consider the methods of the Roman government in exploiting the land so acquired. But it was essentially to her control of this plain that Capua owed a large portion of her wealth: the fertile soil, the abundant harvests have in all ages been subjects of praise.[16] Further, Capua's very position, at the point where the river Volturnus breaks through the last massive ridge of the Appennine chain to wind its way to the

[11] Two sections of the work, of 'inscriptiones sacrae' and 'publicae,' must be reckoned as lost; another appeared in *EE* VIII. The most recent (hereafter cited as 'Mazocchi' with a number) was published by G. F. Gamurrini in *Mem. Acc. Linc.*, ix, 1903, pp. 75–111.

[12] Care is needed: the work was unfinished, some stones were not checked, and on a few the author himself expressed doubts. A few strays from Rome have also crept in, unnoticed by the editor.

[13] Livy, 26, 33, 12. Cf. *CIL* X, p. 369; Heurgon, p. 190.

[14] Livy, 26, 16, 7–8; urbs servata est ut esset aliqua aratorum sedes. Urbi frequentandae multitudo incolarum libertinorumque et institorum opificumque retenta; ager omnis et tecta publica populi Romani facta. Cf. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, iii, 2, pp. 342–347.

[15] Cic. *leg. agr.* ii, 88; *Sest.* 9; *Att.* 15, 3, 1. Caes. *Bell. civ.* 1, 14, 3; 3, 21, 5.

[16] Texts in Heurgon, pp. 11–16.

sea, has made the city at all times the point of egress for the products of the Volturnus valley; the river was apparently navigable as far as Casilinum.[17] Nor should it be overlooked that Capua was a focal point on the routes which ran down the Italian peninsula; in Casilinum it controlled the bridge over the Volturnus; and except for a brief period under the Roman Empire or again in very recent times, roads could not venture nearer the coast for the marshes of the lower Volturnus. Thus the highway of the Via Appia has in historical times formed the only feasible route between Campania and the country to the north.

Although, therefore, Capua's autonomy was at an end, it might be wondered how the city's wealth was affected, rooted as it was in the unchanging and natural facts of site and geography. The status and economic condition of Capua after 211 B.C. are alike obscure; the facts in themselves were no doubt complex, and the surviving evidence rarely unequivocal. Nevertheless, an enquiry may serve to create a background against which the known vicissitudes of Capuan history may usefully be considered—the abortive colonial attempts of C. Gracchus, Marius, and the successful schemes of Caesar in 58 B.C., of Antony in 44, and of Octavian in 36; and simultaneously to illustrate some effects of Roman rule in one of the better attested regions of Republican Italy.

II. THE CAMPANIAN MAGISTRI. (See Appendix)[18]

Of the surviving documents of Republican Capua the inscriptions known as the records of the Campanian magistri have a claim to be considered first in importance. No other city of Italy can show a similar series of documents of a comparable period, and their value is great for any enquiry into administration and conditions in Capua in the obscure years which preceded the creation of Caesar's colony there in 58 B.C. The inscriptions preserve the activities of annual boards of certain officers who were in some way related to various local shrines, and fall almost wholly between the years 112 and 71 B.C. Taken individually they appear simple and uninformative; yet when the twenty-eight examples that remain are considered together, they are seen to offer many explicit items of information and to permit deductions of an interesting kind. From the time that their historical value was first indicated by Mommsen, these texts have been the subject of a brisk though, it must be admitted, somewhat inconclusive discussion. To treat *ab initio* all the problems they raise would be tedious and unnecessary; but the discovery in recent years of six new examples of the series has cast fresh light on disputed points, and it seems appropriate at least to take stock and review the ascertained facts. For convenience, the texts are fully reproduced in an appendix (pp. 126–130); the order there given is chronological, the certainly datable inscriptions taking precedence over the remainder.

With the exception of the newly deciphered mosaic in the Temple of Diana Tifatina (no. 19), the inscriptions are all cut on blocks of a hard, close-grained local

[17] Cf. M. del Treppo, *Arch. Stor. Prov. Nap.*, xxxv, 1955, p. 93. In ancient sources shipping on the Volturnus is attested doubtfully in Stat. *Silv.* 4, 3, 77 and Livy, 26, 7, 9. Early medieval evidence is clearer: cf. Erchemperti (M.G.H. *SS rerr. lang.*) 42, 44 and 61; Chron. Sicardi (Capasso, *Mon. Neap. Duc.* ii, 2, 153). See also N. Cilento, *Riv. Stor. Ital.* lxi, 1951, pp. 457–59.

[18] Below, pp. 126–130. Reference to the lists of magistri is hereafter made by the numbers there given.

limestone; no. 23 is in the form of a simple altar; the remainder, as far as they survive, are quite plain. The majority record the construction of various buildings, and were clearly intended to be incorporated in the monument itself, or to stand alongside it. Thus no. 24 refers simply to 'hoc opus'; while the fact that two others (nos. 4 and 6) are known in duplicate copies suggests that they were placed in two conspicuous parts of the same building. No. 7, which is a copy of no. 6, had indeed been used to seal a tomb containing black-glazed pottery, and may hence not have been used for its original purpose; another text referring to the theatre (no. 14) seems also to have been discarded and at a later date a second inscription (no. 20) was carved on the back of it; all the other theatrical inscriptions have been discovered in the area of the town where the building is known to have stood. Although this is the general purpose of the stones, there are two apparent exceptions (nos. 20 and 21) which do not in their present state mention building activities at all; it is a possibility that, where the magistri undertook other important duties, a public record of the fact was kept in or near the shrines which they served; but as both the above inscriptions are incomplete this remains uncertain. In general terms there can be little doubt that the remainder were building inscriptions, designed to form part of the monuments with which they were concerned.

The dating of the series offers few difficulties. Those carrying specific consular dates range from 112 or 111 to 71 B.C. Eleven inscriptions have no such dating, either by omissions or breakage of the stone. But of these, three concern the building of the theatre (14, 15 and 16), and therefore fall between 108 B.C., when the work was begun (no. 6), and 94, by which time it was already in use (no. 17). Those that remain cannot be far removed in time. The most recently discovered member of the group (no. 24) is the most strikingly archaic in appearance and may be the earliest; it alone preserves the use of Ovius as a *praenomen*. The remaining seven cannot be dated exactly, but from the fact that some contain parts of the recurrent phraseology (22, 26, 27), and that all are closely alike in style of lettering and arrangement of lines, it may be assumed that they will fall, in all probability, within the known limits of the series. In any event, the activities of the magistri cannot have outlived by very long their last datable record (71 B.C., no. 20). It has been argued that they were among the *collegia* abolished by the Roman senate in 64 B.C., though this is not certain; but the whole series must fall before the founding of the Caesarian colony at Capua, when whatever administration there had been till then was swept away and the boards of magistri were replaced by the regular offices and institutions of the colony.[19]

The form of the inscriptions is extremely simple. First, the names of the magistri are listed; then follows the title of each board, a mention of the work undertaken, and usually a consular date. The boards distinguish themselves by the names of deities, expressed with apparent indifference either in the genitive ('heisce magistreis Venerus Ioviae') or the dative ('heisce magistreis Iovei Optumo Maxsumo'). The variation of grammatical case is probably not significant, and may be paralleled elsewhere with such words as 'magister' and 'minister.'[20] More striking, however, is the survival, at this comparatively late date, of the archaic

[19] *CIL* X, p. 367.

[20] Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, i, p. 163.

form of the nominative 'heisce magistreis' for 'hi magistri.' In the more extended context of no. 17 and occasionally elsewhere (nos. 6, 9) the later form 'magistrei' is used. It is not unlikely that these titles were stereotyped religious formulae of some antiquity, and that the annual boards go back to an earlier period than that for which there is actual documentation.

The central problem concerns the nature of these magistri, whose annual activities were so carefully recorded. Municipal magistrates in the ordinary sense they cannot have been; for it is clear enough from literary sources that Capua could have had no regular offices from the time of her reduction until the Ciceronian period.[21] Yet, underlying the administration imposed from Rome, certain elements of a local organisation are attested in these inscriptions. Two of the texts refer to the decisions of a *pagus*: thus no. 17 speaks of a *magister pagi* and reproduces a decree of the Pagus Herculaneus; and in no. 20 there is mention of another such decree.[22] Apart from the *pagi* there are the boards of magistri themselves, who appear to be designated in no. 17 as a *collegium*. The relation, however, of *pagus*, *magistri* and the shrines is not immediately clear, and the details have been much debated.

It was the view of Mommsen, who first drew attention to the importance of these texts,[23] that the magistri were attached to various shrines in the neighbourhood, and were the same as the *curatores fanorum* found elsewhere. These were normally minor municipal officials charged with supervising the shrines and temples of a city, and with superintending any festivals or games connected with them. And as in full municipalities they were normally subordinate to the magistrates (as, for example, in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*),[24] so in Capua they act on instructions from the *pagus* in virtue of a *pagi scitum* or a *lex pagana* (nos. 17, 20). Moreover, when there is mention of a *collegium* as in no. 17, this describes the magistri themselves, who formed a college like the pontifical or sacred colleges testified in Rome and abundantly elsewhere.

If Mommsen's view has not achieved the assent it deserved, the reason lies partly in the obscurity of the texts, and partly in the extraordinary range of activities undertaken by the Capuan *magistri* within a comparatively short period. Various alternative explanations have been offered, and various supposed analogies introduced; and before any further discussion it will be necessary to deal briefly with these. The idea of A. Schulten[25] that these were the magistrates of a *conventus civium Romanorum*, similar to those found on provincial soil, is easily dismissed: not only were these boards clearly recruited from the local population, as a glance at the names will show, but the *conventus* of Capua long survived the Social War, after which all the Campanians were certainly full Roman citizens. J. Hatzfeld[26] wished to explain the Capuan magistri by the example of the corporations on Delos known as the Poseidoniastae, Hermeiastae and Apolloniastae; on this view they would be the officers of a series of *pagi* in the territory of Capua, and would have

[21] See above, n. 15.

[22] Another [*p*]*ag. magis*[*ter*] may be mentioned in no. 21. Cf. R. M. Peterson, *The Cults of Campania*, p. 351, n. 1.

[23] *Ann. Ist.*, xviii, 1846, p. 91, n. 2; *CIL* X, p. 367. Cf. also Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, i, 1852, pp. 13–15.

[24] *EE* II, pp. 128–130.

[25] *De conventibus civium Romanorum*, pp. 71–77.

[26] *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xxxvi, 1912, pp. 184–189; *Les Trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique*, pp. 267–273.

assumed the titles of the deities whose temples were situated in the *pagi*; and thereby would be explained the extensive duties of these boards, which seem too ambitious for mere *curatores fanorum*. But this encounters difficulties in inscription no. 17. Here a *magister pagi* is mentioned and is obviously distinct from the board of twelve; and they are subject to his authority as they are to the decrees of the *pagus* itself. That the *magister pagi* here might be a subordinate financial officer is contradicted both by the wording of the text and the unanimous testimony of usage elsewhere.[27] The more recent explanation of J. Heurgon[28] ingeniously avoids such schematism. Pointing to the inscription of a 'collegium mercatorum' which is contemporary with the first in the series and has here been listed as no. 1, he suggests that all the *collegia* were in origin professional corporations of the type familiar in many parts of the Roman world in this period; thus the magistri of no. 22 might be *magistri horto*[*lanorum*]; and as at Rome the *collegium mercatorum* was especially associated with Mercury, so also in Capua these bodies took on the protection and finally the name of a tutelary deity; further, the corporations may have been recruited regionally or by *pagus*, for in Rome and elsewhere similar trades tended to congregate in the same area or *vicus*. These conclusions have been carried further in the most recent discussion of the Campanian magistri, that of S. Accame;[29] who, while conceding the notion of a professional origin, argued that in their final form the *collegia* represent a purely regional recruitment; and, adducing as a parallel the newly discovered inscriptions of Minturnae,[30] decided that the magistri were none other than those of the *compita* or cross-roads.

The last two interpretations, which are to some extent complementary and may be said to hold the field, diverge so radically from that of Mommsen, and at the same time are so impressive in their consequences, that a lengthier discussion may be justified. Neither view, in the first place, has derived any support from recent finds. To turn to the theory of S. Accame, for whom the magistri were those who conducted the games and the worship of the compital Lares: do the Minturnae inscriptions throw any clear light on the matter? They show, indeed, some external similarities; and about their date there can be no reasonable doubt that they are roughly contemporary with the Capuan lists, or that they begin in the early first century B.C.[31] But there is much in the Minturnae inscriptions which is obscure. In them the twelve names are regularly divided into four groups of three; and the suggestion that this represents the four bodies of *magistri vici* who together composed the *magistri compiti* is attractive if not strictly demonstrable. The Capuan inscriptions, however, have no trace of the tell-tale division into four sub-groups, nor is the number twelve always observed. While it is true that the Lares seem to have been worshipped at cross-roads along with other deities, it is a more serious objection that the Capuan lists, abundant as they are, fail to refer to or hint at their compital or vical nature. Moreover, there are no other instances of *collegia compitalicia* of the type

[27] Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, pp. 13–14.

[28] Heurgon, 'Les Magistri des collèges et le relèvement de Capoue,' in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, lvi, 1939, pp. 5–27.

[29] *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, lxx, 1942, App. pp. 17–27.

[30] J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae*, vol. ii, pp. 18 ff.

[31] See Johnson, cited above. E. Staedtler, *Hermes*, lxxvii, 1942, pp. 149–196, has attempted to controvert the dates assigned by the excavators; but his arguments for an Augustan date rest on several misconceptions and ignorance of the powerful evidence assembled by F. Münzer, *Röm. Mitt.* 1, 1935, pp. 321–330. Further objections will be found in F. Bömer, *Abh. Akad. Wiss.*, Geistes- und sozialwiss. Klasse, 1957, 7, pp. 101–105.

performing the elaborate or ambitious duties here specified. The sacred treasuries controlled by the Capuan magistri are inconceivably large for compital shrines, the functions and resources of which were as a rule extremely modest. With the exception of no. 13, where the dedicants are mostly servile in status and are specifically called 'ministri Laribus,'[32] all the works done by the Campanian magistri are on a scale that suggests considerable affluence; and in this period the cults of the *compita* seem largely to have been in the hands of servile classes.[33] Whatever the explanation of the Minturnae inscriptions, those from Capua cannot be the records of compital cults.

The contention that the Capuan colleges are a powerful group of professional corporations gains some plausibility from the importance of Capuan industries at this time. There is plenty of evidence elsewhere for such associations;[34] and the record of a 'conlegium mercatorum' (no. 1) is of early date and is often regarded as a member of the same series. The idea, however, that all the magistri in Capua were officers of professional colleges founders upon inscription no. 17. It is not inconceivable that a decree might refer to a professional association by the obscure words 'conlegium seive magistrei sunt'; but the context refers to the granting of a specific number of seats in a theatre, and cannot therefore have concerned an indefinitely large body such as a professional organisation. The magistri of the fragmentary text no. 22 are more probably to be taken as those of Hercules; at least, if the existence of a group of *hortolani* in ancient Capua is not entirely absurd,[35] the evidence of a restored text alone cannot support it. One further consideration, hitherto unnoticed, indicates rather that the magistri were recruited from a number of different trades and professions. The lists of names clearly reflect as a whole the time when the official use of the *cognomen* was beginning but had not as yet become established.[36] It is more noteworthy that some names reveal an earlier stage, in which office-holders of the same name were differentiated by an indication of trade or profession. Examples of a similar procedure are, indeed, not lacking elsewhere;[37] and the abundance of common Oscan gentile names in Capua may well have increased the need to distinguish homonyms from one another in official documents. Certain cases are clear. In text no. 10, the entries 'P. Baebius N.l. aerari(us)' and 'P. Servius N.l.purpur(arius)' can only be indications of trade; though the two other additions are doubtless normal *cognomina*, 'Gent(hius?)' and 'Pera.' Furthermore, 'D. Rosci Q.l. lintio' (no. 9), 'C. Obinius Cn.f. lanio' (no. 11), '. . . N.f. faber' (no. 14), 'A. Rubrius A.f. praec(o)' (no. 20) are surely of the same type. Sometimes, through abbreviation or other causes, some uncertainty subsists as to whether occupation or *cognomen* is to be read. Thus in text no. 20 'L. Decumius N.f. Stab.'—either *stab(ularius)* or the cognomen (usually servile) Stabilio, Staberius, etc. No. 8 mentions 'Cn. Octavius N.l. ves.'—more likely a *vestiarius* than the exceedingly rare, if geographically apt, *cognomen* Vesvinus. And in the same document 'M. Ocrati M.l. pist.' is surely a *pistor*, rather than the otherwise uniquely

[32] It may be noted that in this case, the only one which may be compitalicial, there are *fourteen* names. Cf. a similar dedication of a later date, *CIL* X, 3790.

[33] Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 4, 14, 3–4.

[34] See Heurgon, article cited n. 28 above, pp. 12–15. Especially abundant also in Praeneste: G. Gullini and Fasolo, *Il Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia*, vol. i, pp. 275–282.

[35] Heurgon, *art. cit.* p. 14, n. 1.

[36] See further below, p. 114.

[37] Cf. G. E. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul*, p. 59.

attested name, Pistos.[38] Such indications of profession are not surprising in a city as economically vital as Capua. But the appearance of diverse professions within one college as early as 106 B.C. (no. 8) is irreconcilable with any notions of professional recruitment. There can, indeed, be no doubt that the magistri of the inscription no. 1 are wholly different in kind from the magistri known from the other inscriptions. The stone which recorded that text is lost, and there can be no certainty that it was at all similar in form;[39] at the most, it is useful evidence that, alongside the boards of magistri attached to shrines, there existed in Campania at that date professional associations of the habitual kind.

To resume the foregoing discussion, the attempts to subvert Mommsen's view of the magistri must be deemed unsuccessful. His interpretation is surely right: the decree preserved in no. 17 makes plain that the *collegia* mentioned are the boards of magistrates themselves and not some more extensive body. Confirmation has recently emerged in the inscription (no. 19) which commemorated the rebuilding of the Temple of Diana Tifatina by a similar board of twelve: for these can only be the *magistri fani Dianae Tifatinae*, who alone of these earlier *magistri fanorum* survived and are recorded in the imperial age.[40] Their uniquely pre-eminent position, as many other peculiarities of Campanian institutions, is to be explained solely by the absence of a full municipal administration; such magistri as appear after the colony was founded were of minor importance and of greatly diminished influence.[41] Their decline is hardly surprising; with the creation of regular offices, ambitious or wealthy citizens turned to the more lucrative, and at the same time more exclusive, opportunities offered by the decurionate or duumviral honours.

What was the administrative function of these boards? Twelve separate boards are attested, each normally of twelve persons. It is evident, moreover, that they were annual, and were enlisted (how is unknown) from *ingenui* and *liberti* alike. In 106 B.C. the officers of Castor and Pollux were composed of both classes in equal proportions, while in the next year only free men appear. Slaves are represented only in the *ministri Laribus*, traditionally a servile cult, and apparently of minor importance in Capua. More crucial, and more obscure, is the relation of these magistri to the central authorities of the *pagus*, and the sole evidence is inscription no. 17. While it is a little surprising that the *magister pagi*, who had higher authority, is not mentioned more often, this is doubtless due to the nature of the documents—building records, which would reflect the actions of the executive rather than superior magistrates. But the text makes clear that the pagus was the primary assembly, and intervened by a *pagi scitum* (nos. 17, 20); yet the mention of a *lex pagana* in no. 17 carries the implication that relations between assembly and magistri were fixed by some more permanent enactment. Why, then, the need for a *pagi scitum* at all? Not, surely (as has been proposed), because the magistri required some special dispensation to build a secular building, the *porticus pagana*: the Capuan

[38] Other possibilities are: Ser. Sueti Ser. l. bal(neator) in list 8; in the same, C. Lucretius C.l. is followed by a ligature which may be Apul(us) or aur(ifex); in list 11, ...natius P.f.gla(diarius). Other abbreviations are more readily resolved as common *cognomina*.

[39] A comparable, and roughly contemporary, college of *retiarii* at Puteoli, *CIL* I², 1618.

[40] *CIL* X, 3918, 3924.

[41] Twelve ministri, mostly slaves, in *CIL* X, 3790 (26 B.C.); a board of six magistri dedicate to Jupiter, *CIL* X, 3786 (15 A.D.); another board of six, *CIL* X, 3787.

boards had already by this date built a theatre, and were thus by no means limited to religious affairs. The reason is rather that the portico was built with sums which were normally spent upon games: a *lex pagana* had so destined these sums, unless the *pagus* resolved otherwise. As has been recognised, this money must have been the *summa honoraria*, the fee normally paid by a municipal magistrate upon achieving office, and used by the municipality for its own purposes. That these sums were demanded in all Roman *municipia*, and that they were frequently spent upon games, is a fact that needs no illustration. But a striking parallel to the Capuan inscription may be offered from Pompeii in the decision to restore the Stabian baths, which took place about 50 B.C.: here the magistrates concerned sold the contract in accordance with a decree of the decurions, 'from that money which by law they were to spend upon the games or a monument.'[42] As at Pompeii, so in Capua, the sum was fixed by general statute, to be diverted to other uses by special decree. The fact betokens an unexpected degree of evolution in a city which had no recognised municipal status.

Although the twelve boards drew their authority from the primary *pagus*-assembly, it is apparent that their position as curators of shrines was no insignificant one. The splendour and renown of the temple of Diana Tifatina may well have attracted the wealthy or ambitious Capuan: something of her ancient importance may still be seen in the remains of the temple which was subsequently transformed into the basilica of S. Angelo in Formis.[43] The cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, recently attested for the first time (nos. 6 and 7), must have been prominent in Capua; the inscriptions were found in the north-western area, where many of the larger public buildings stood.[44] Such a cult commonly symbolised loyalty to Rome, and can at this date only have been introduced on Roman initiative; though it is less certain whether the worship of the Capitoline triad as a whole can be supposed so early.[45] The other great shrine of Capua was that revealed by excavations in the 'Fondo Patturelli,' shortly to the east of the town; the name of the goddess worshipped there is not known, but she should probably be identified with Ceres or with Juno Gaura.[46] Spes, Fides and Fortuna, recorded together in 110 B.C. (no. 3), were apparently independent cults which were united under a single board of magistrates and at that date were perhaps of minor importance.[47] Of the other shrines very little is known; the temple of Castor and Pollux probably stood near the later Capitolium in the north-western section of the town;[48] while the sites of shrines to Hercules, Jupiter and Apollo may conceivably be preserved in the modern names of the villages Recale, Casagiove and Casapulla. About many of the lesser cults

[42] The magistrates 'laconicum et destrictarium faciunda et porticus et palaestram reficiunda locarunt ex d. d. ex ea pecunia quod (*sic*) eos e lege in ludos aut in monumento (*sic*) consumere oportuit, faciundum coerarunt eidemque probarunt.' *CIL* X, 829 = *ILS* 5706.

[43] On the temple, cf. S. Weinstock, P–W, *s.v.* Tifatina; and now especially A. De Franciscis, *Arch. Stor. Terra di Lavoro*, i, 1956, pp. 301–358.

[44] A. De Franciscis, *Not. Scav.* 1952, pp. 306–308; *Studi Calderini e Paribeni*, iii, pp. 356–358.

[45] The Capitolium of Capua, restored by Tiberius (Tac. *ann.* 4, 57; Suet. *Tib.* 40), stood in the same area and may have adopted the same temple. Silius Italicus (*Pun.* xi, 265) speaks of 'Capitolia celsa' in Hannibal's time, but this is a Vergilian echo and probably mere anachronism. The Capitoline triad was evidently introduced with the founding of the colony, as occurred regularly elsewhere: see in general U. Bianchi, *Mem. Acc. Linc.*, ii, Ser. 8, pp. 349–414.

[46] Peterson, *Cults of Campania*, pp. 338–342; Heurgon, pp. 365–370.

[47] Aedis Fortunae, Livy, 27, 11, 2; 23, 2. This weighs against Wissowa's suggestion (*Rel. und Kultus*, p. 260) that she was worshipped in the Fondo Patturelli.

[48] Peterson, pp. 343–344; Heurgon, p. 123.

there is a lack of definite evidence; but it is likely enough that the men who superintended the larger temples with their extensive treasuries were of a reasonable wealth and standing.

How these temples stood in relation to the *pagus*-constitution of Capua cannot be defined with any assurance. Only one *pagus* is known by name, the 'pagus Herculaneus' of no. 17 : were there also others? Throughout antiquity, as indeed to-day, the Campanian plain was dotted with a number of small settlements and villages, normally depending directly upon their central metropolis, Capua; but in unsettled times, or on the collapse of central control, such sites would revert to a precarious and isolated autonomy. It is reasonably plain that Capua, in the period before her rebellion, had by a kind of synoecism acquired control of a large number of nearby towns like Casilinum, Calatia, Atella, or the considerable village which had accrued around the temple of Diana at the foot of Monte Tifata; and the existence of other such small *vici* can be discerned from the positions of ancient remains.[49] When in 211 B.C. Capuan institutions were abolished, such centres appear to have relapsed into their original independence. Yet not all small *vici* of the Campanian plain need have been centres of such *pagi*; by the end of the second century B.C. at least it seems certain that the Pagus Herculaneus was, if not the only *pagus* of the area, then in some sense a special or central one. This is apparent in its control over the admission of magistri into the theatre, a prominent monument of the ancient city.[50] It follows that it had some authority over the other boards contributing to that building : Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Castor and Pollux, Mercurius Felix, Jupiter Compagus, and the unnamed boards of nos. 14, 15 and 16; and that these shrines probably lay within the one central *pagus*. Moreover, the temple of Diana, before its status was established by Sulla, was evidently also subject to the central *pagus*; in 99 B.C. the magistri of Castor and Pollux, whose temple lay in Capua itself, engaged in building operations inside the sanctuary of Diana.[51] Slight as the evidence is about the administration by the *pagus*, there is no good reason to assume a multiplicity of such units on the Campanian land; the control of administrative matters seems to have belonged to the Pagus Herculaneus, an assembly which had already assumed many features of civic organisation, despite the absence of qualified magistrates.[52]

Of the actual buildings undertaken by the magistri little now survives, but they were undoubtedly extensive. Apart from mutilated or uncertain texts, the earlier examples mention unspecified foundations (no. 2), and various walls, one of them 270 feet long (no. 4). The theatre was begun in 108 B.C.; a contract was let for the

[49] For pre-Roman cemeteries and their distribution, cf. Heurgon, p. 414, n. 5; and pp. 115–118. Roman remains come from many small sites in the vicinity, such as Macerata di Marcianise, S. Prisco, S. Nicola in Strada, etc.

[50] See below, p. 91.

[51] Text no. 12, found apparently *in situ* in an enclosure wall of Diana's sanctuary, refers to works undertaken in the sanctuary itself. The meaning is not clear at all points. Since statues of the Dioscuri would have no place in the sanctuary, *Cast. et Pol.* is to be construed as a dative of the deities whom the *mag(istreis)* served, as in no. 18, where the two terms are similarly separated. The sentence, describing the works of the *magistri Castori et Polluci* throughout, has suffered dislocation by the clumsy insertion of 'loca privata de stipe emendum.' See further below, n. 59. (Mommsen's conjecture that the wall in texts 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, was one and the same wall is unnecessary.)

[52] Text no. 17 was found, possibly in its original position, some way from Capua at the modern Recale (near Caserta); being a building inscription it is not evidence for the site of the Pagus Herculaneus, but only of the *porticus* that was built. For such theophoric names, cf. the remarks of P. Veyne, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.*, lxix, 1957, p. 92.

initial structures and the earthen embankment on which the cavea was supported; part of the cavea and the steps rested on vaulted substructures, built in 105; while three other texts witness the making of the *cunei*. The whole construction was in use by 94 B.C., thus preceding the first stone theatre of Rome itself by over forty years.[53] Structurally and in its form it must have closely resembled the Large Theatre of Pompeii; but the surviving remains of the theatre at Capua evidently belong to some total restoration associated with the Augustan colony.[54] Other works followed in undiminished sequence: pavements and weights in 98 B.C., gardens and a portico of uncertain date, a second portico in 94 B.C., a fountain and the purchase of a slave; in 99 B.C. considerable extensions were made to Diana's sanctuary, while in 74 B.C., probably the result of Sulla's benefactions, the temple itself was totally rebuilt.[55] Within a brief period, the record of achievements is an impressive one.

Whence came the money for these buildings, both sacred and secular? The inscriptions permit some revealing conclusions, not irrelevant to Capua's condition. As *curatores* of shrines, the boards would have the temple treasuries in their hands. But in no. 12, the magistri distinguish between the purchase of 'local privata,' made from Diana's treasury, and certain other buildings which presumably drew upon some other source. The fountain erected in 84 B.C. (no. 18) was paid for partly from the *stips* of Jupiter, partly from the money of the magistri themselves; and no. 22, fragmentary as it is, appears to mention a similar distinction. Apart, then, from the sacred funds, the magistri could dispose of secular money which may have been of considerable quantity. As has been argued, the *pagus* demanded from the magistri a fixed fee which normally was spent upon public games; and that no. 17 shows that this sum could only be diverted by a decree of the *pagus*. Further, the magistri twice (nos. 18, 22) refer to expenses met 'de sua pecunia.' This cannot be the *summa honoraria* required by law, for if this had been involved, there must have been further *pagi scita*. In fact, the phrase is regularly used for the private generosity of an office-holder; and where magistrates boast of providing amenities 'de sua pecunia,' the sum is a donation over and above the regular fees demanded for taking office; indeed, the latter sums were considered to belong to the municipality.[56] Two secular sources of money thus contributed in these years, the central funds of the *pagus* itself and private generosity. The formulae used by the magistri in describing their acts possibly reflect some such distinction; terms like 'faciunda coeravere' may suggest that the funds employed belong elsewhere. But it is probable that the phrase also covers ordinary magisterial supervision; that such works as involved building were let out to contractors by the familiar procedure of *locatio* is now evident from the theatre-inscription of 108. In all essentials, the financial procedures of the Pagus Herculaneus were those of the ordinary Roman *municipium*.

The heavy exploitation of sacred funds, however, is a feature which finds no clear parallels elsewhere. Certain of the Campanian temples, to be sure, owned considerable wealth. The temple of Diana was indeed famous for some curious

[53] Tac. *ann.* 14, 20. Perhaps part of the theatre were the walls and mysterious 'plutei,' built in 106 and 104 B.C.

[54] *CIL* X, 3907. *Not. Scav.* 1943, pp. 149–54; 1952, pp. 306–308.

[55] A. De Franciscis, cited n. 43 above.

[56] Cf. *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, 70–71. Mommsen, *CIL* X, p. 1160. W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, pp. 54–57.

and rare exhibits—an alleged cup of Nestor and the skull of an elephant;[57] more significant, the goddess owned much landed property. In 99 B.C. she is found purchasing 'loca privata' (no. 12); later, in 83 B.C., Sulla commemorated his victory over Norbanus by a grant of some mineral springs and some lands of wide extent: their status and boundaries were retained by Augustus and Vespasian.[58] Few other treasuries in Capua can have rivalled Diana in wealth; Hercules may have owned gardens ('hortos' in no. 22); for the rest, details are lacking. Their combined resources may have been considerable, and as is clear from the inscriptions were under the direct control of the *pagus*. That the assembly itself resolved such rebuilding measures as those in texts nos. 12, 18 and 19 seems indisputable, and this is also the case even where civil funds are not known to have been involved. A sum from Diana's treasury was spent on buying up some private property, doubtless to enlarge the sanctuary area, since text no. 12 was found near the temple;[59] and the goddess seems also to have borne the costs of restoring the temple in 74 B.C. Money from the treasury of Jupiter was used, along with private contributions, on the building of a fountain in 84 B.C.; and it is probable that text no. 22 spoke of a disbursement from the *stips* of Hercules. It is unlikely that all these works were directly connected with the shrines which paid for them; and even if this is not excluded, such heavy reliance on sacred funds is unusual for buildings, many of which bore a secular character. In normal circumstances, the sanctity of sacred treasuries was carefully respected; the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* forbids their use except for narrowly defined sacred purposes, and this represents a general Roman reluctance.[60] It may not be fanciful to see in the predominant position of the Capuan treasuries a reflection of Capua's strange constitutional status. In the years that followed 211 B.C., the chief resources of the city will have lain precisely in temple treasuries, and the local administration, which in many features shows a striking sophistication, depended upon these funds to meet expenses which normally would have been dealt with by a municipal treasury.

'Urbs trunca sine senatu sine plebe sine magistratibus.'[61] For a century and a half the position of Capua was indeed a strange one, and it is hardly surprising that the machinery of administration was adapted to meet it. Despite some insoluble obscurities, the main outlines of the local organisation are clear. A certain measure of direct control was maintained by Rome; the system of jurisdiction that depended upon annual prefects seems to have continued until 59 B.C., and 'iudicium' which engaged the magistri of list no. 22 must refer to a dispute resolved before these officers. Yet in many other ways management of local affairs shows striking emancipation. It is evident that a great number of ordinary magisterial duties had been assumed by the boards of magistri, and that they were subject to the authority of the central assembly, the *pagus*, which had its own presiding officers in the *magistri pagi*. The *pagus* itself was the body responsible for the elaborate building schemes to which the records of the magistri bear witness; and that Capua had some independence of action even in the political field is shown by such collective

[57] Athen., xi, 466e; 489b. Pausan., 5, 12, 3.

[58] Vell. Pat. 2, 25, 4; *CIL* X, 3828. *Not. Scav.* 1893, p. 165.

[59] Cf. n. 51. Since the words 'de stipe Dianae' seem to refer only to the purchase of land, the other works mentioned will have been paid by the *pagus*.

[60] *Lex. Col. Gen.* 72; cf. Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, i, 257–258. Wissowa, *Rel. und Kultus*, pp. 429–430.

[61] Livy, 31, 29, 11.

resolutions as the appointment of Cicero as a *patronus* of Campania and the erection of statues in his honour.[62] Probably after 211 B.C. Campania had reverted to the pre-urban Italic traditions of organisation through territorial *pagi*; but much centralisation had demonstrably taken place. The one *pagus* testified, the Pagus Herculaneus, whether by arrogation or amalgamation, occupied a controlling position, and was chiefly responsible for the activities of the magistri. Another term for the central assembly may be represented by the 'conventus' whose decrees are referred to by Cicero.[63] It is not easy to see how these two popular assemblies would have differed in function. It is remotely possible that the *conventus* includes other outlying *pagi*, but their existence has otherwise left no trace. More probably the distinction was merely one of terminology: and while 'pagus' was the official Roman term for the more primitive organisation, it is not impossible that 'conventus' was the indigenous and customary name for the assembly of the *pagus*; thus in Oscan Pompeii the general assembly was officially designated by the same word.[64] The duties of the *magister pagi* are obscure, and may have been merely presidential. More important were the twelve boards of *magistri fanorum*, who by the end of the second century B.C. had clearly usurped the chief executive tasks and bore many of the routine expenses. The vitality of these boards in the following years is impressive, and it may well be doubted whether such an elaborate system could have been the natural outcome of spontaneous growth. Certainly, by the time they began to record their activities, these boards had acquired many of the dignities and functions of full municipal magistrates: they pay a fee upon entering office, they donate additional sums for public munificence, they may undertake disputes at law, may make public contracts, approve and supervise the construction of extensive public buildings. Such developments are, indeed, not without parallel elsewhere; although the inscriptions from Minturnae are unilluminating, there exists evidence from other Italian towns for the presence of such religious boards and their assumption of quasi-magisterial powers.[65] It was upon foundations of this kind that the emperor Augustus was later to build when he created the municipal boards of *seviri Augustales*.[66]

It remains to emphasise the conclusion which emerges most clearly from the records of the Campanian magistri. It is overwhelmingly evident that the city's wealth at this time in no way corresponded to her constitutional disabilities. The inscriptions reveal that, in the absence of a municipal senate and senatorial class, the system of twelve boards was admirably suited to distribute the burden of public expense over a wider element of the population. Yet it is also clear that the social status of these magistri was not entirely negligible. In ordinary Roman *municipia*, the decurional class was a creation of definition, not of wealth alone; many freedmen were excluded from it who might often exceed magistrates themselves in riches or social influence, and outside Rome the factual differences between *ingenuus* and

[62] Cic. *Sest.* 9; *Pis.* 25.

[63] Cic. *Sest.* 9: conventus ille Capuae. The use of 'conventus' to refer to the Campanian region (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 15, 3, 1) is commoner but derivative.

[64] Conway 42, 43, and 52: *kúmbennieís tanginud* ('de conventus sententia'). Of the two assemblies known in Oscan Pompeii, this must be the primary one; cf. A. Sogliano, *Pompeii preromana*, pp. 156–157. G. Devoto, *Gli antichi italici*, p. 266.

[65] Compare the *octoviri fanorum* at Trebula Mutuesca (*ILS* 6553), and the *VIIIIviri valetudinis* at Mevania (*CIL* XI, p. 733).

[66] See especially A. D. Nock, *Mélanges Bidez*, ii, pp. 627–638.

libertus was often hard to discern. With the sole exception of the *Ministri Lares*, whose duties were of an inferior kind and perhaps limited to slaves, the boards of Capuan magistri were enrolled from both the other classes indifferently. Some of these may well have approached the wealth demanded elsewhere of a decurion; others designate themselves without shame as men of commerce or artisans; all, however, must have owned means sufficient to meet the annual obligations of the *summa honoraria* and, in addition, the customary generosity on a significant scale. Among the free men the richer ones doubtless were those who later became the decurions and magistrates of Caesar's colony.[67] The *liberti* among them would find no place at first in the colonial constitution; but they were to have their position virtually restored in the later religious boards of the *Augustales*, and to become that 'libertina nobilitas' which formed a vigorous element in the lives of Italian municipalities. The city that could produce at this date a hundred or more such men annually was clearly no impoverished one; and while the boards testify thus to Capua's thriving economy, they may also illuminate another more unexpected fact: the civic enthusiasm of its inhabitants.

III. THE CAMPANIAN STELAE

The second group of inscriptions to be discussed consists of certain sepulchral stelae of a type which is frequently found in Capua and its immediately neighbouring towns, and which forms a very large and distinctive element in the Latin epigraphy of the area. While these have little direct documentary value, they offer a number of problems of no small interest. The stelae have, indeed, attracted some scholarly attention for the sculptured features they often contain; more important, the stelae are sufficiently numerous to be used as a source of historical information about the period which they span. In order to deal with this aspect, which has by comparison suffered some neglect, the approximate limits of date must be set; and as only a few of the inscriptions refer explicitly to datable events, any attempt to date the series as a whole must proceed upon more strictly archaeological lines. The aim of the following section is to consider the archaeological features of these inscriptions, for it is a familiar fact that these may often yield information which is not supplied by the wording alone. This must be held to justify the unavoidably technical character of the following discussion, which will be concerned with the preliminary arguments of typology and dating and closely connected problems of artistic survivals in Campania generally. The contention here made is that the entire series is, substantially, of the Republican period; the historical consequences are deferred until the final section.

The Campanian sepulchral inscriptions here in question belong to a form of gravestone which originated in the Attic stele of the classical period and is of very common occurrence throughout the Hellenistic world. Formally, despite certain minor variations, there is little to distinguish them from the abundant examples from the Greek world; the basic scheme shows the figure of the deceased, usually in full length, within the architectural framework of an aedicola with columns supporting a pediment. Despite their obvious even if distant Greek ancestry, the stelae

[67] Cic. *Sest.* 9.

reveal many features which are the products of an Italic environment, most clearly in the pronounced and recognisably indigenous flavour of the sculpture. The burial customs to which they have been adapted have further modified the Hellenistic prototype. The stelae were designed to stand beside a road, to mark the ownership of the enclosure or burial-ground where the bones of the deceased and his dependents would ordinarily have been interred. Some inscriptions specify the area of soil involved,[68] others show that the stone stood within the bounded space to mark the exact spot of burial;[69] furthermore, the sculpture is designed to be seen only from the front, the back and sides of the stone being left rough and undressed. Apart from minor variations, the number and close similarity of the stelae is so striking that scholars had long since concluded that this was a local tradition of funerary monument.[70] Individual examples have been discussed from time to time; the only attempt to consider the group as a whole is that of Miss Lidia Forti, who in two studies fully described some sixty stones that were available to her in the Museo Campano in modern Capua and in the Museo Nazionale of Naples.[71] It will not be necessary to go over the ground so carefully covered by Miss Forti; the following pages, which to a large extent presuppose her discussion, are intended primarily to supplement rather than compete, and by drawing upon new material to prepare for their use as a historical source.

The commonest features of the stelae may be briefly described (cf. pl. XXI). The central field is occupied by a rendering of the dead man, often in the company of his wife, children or other members of his *familia*; the figures are in high relief and project sharply from a deeply recessed ground, which is rectangular in shape, or in rare cases arched, but never niche-shaped. Around this, more or less crudely indicated, are the architectural features of an aedicola or small shrine: the pediment, containing a rosette or Medusa's head, is shown as resting upon slender square pilasters with Corinthian or often purely fanciful capitals. Beneath the central figures, several stones have a smaller rectangular panel in low relief, depicting a scene of everyday life which is sometimes of great economic interest. Of none of these sculptures can it be claimed that they reach any exalted artistic standard—even the most ornate tend to be formulaic repetitions, and at their best possessed of a certain naïve charm. Further, the material in which the inscriptions were cut has not assisted their preservation. Those from Capua itself are exclusively sculptured in a local limestone (the modern "pietra di Caserta"), which is quarried from the spurs of Monte Tifata behind the town; the stone varies in quality from hard and compact to the knotty and pitted medium in which the poorer examples are carved. Other materials were also used as available; the six surviving specimens from the cemetery of Cales[72] are in a brownish-grey volcanic stone of the tufa variety, reasonably compact in texture and easily workable; it is nowadays derived from several localities on the slopes of the extinct volcano, Monte Roccamonfina. The difficult texture of the limestones and the unappealing colour of the tufa make it likely that many stelae were painted over. One example from Cales, the stele

[68] E.g. *CIL* X, 4435.
[69] E.g. *CIL* X, 4431.
[70] H. Nissen, *Hermes*, i, 1866, p. 147. R. Altmann, *Römische Grabaltäre*, p. 138.
[71] L. Forti, 'Un gruppo di stele del Museo Campano,' *Mem. Acc. Arch. Nap.*, vi, 1941, pp. 45–76; and 'Stele Capuane,' *ib.*, vi, 1942, pp. 301–330. Hereafter referred to as 'Forti I' and 'Forti II' respectively.
[72] *EE* VIII, 539, 549, 551, 552, 555, 557.

of Planius P.1. Diomedes (*EE* VIII, 551), still preserves traces of the thick stucco with which the interior of the aedicola-recess was covered, while traces of red paint may be seen in the incised letters of the inscription above it. As in the early tufa sculpture of Pompeii, the use of paint was in part designed to conceal the shortcomings of the materials; and the same fact doubtless explains the sketchy rendering of certain details—in particular there is often little attempt to carve the facial features, which could be left to be added in colour. The use of stucco may also account for the cases in Capua and Cales which, while preserving the normal shape and scheme of the stelae, have no sign of sculpture or inscription.[73] A further minor variant may be seen in the tufa examples from Teanum Sidicinum, where the pediment contains, not as elsewhere a rosette or Medusa's head, but a marine composition of tritons, whose writhing tails fill the pedimental space.[74] An even more decadent type, which enters only indirectly into the scope of this study, is represented by those stelae which abolished figured decoration entirely, using the central field for the epitaph itself; occasionally these cruder congeners of style may have chronological value.[75] The full standing figure, the aedicola framework and pediment thus dominate the scheme of the stelae and dictate the formal outlines. The Latin inscription itself takes second place and is often more carelessly carved. Normally inscribed on the reserved area of the architrave, which might be made of considerable depth to accommodate it, the epitaph and names sometimes spread on to other available surfaces—words overflow in vertical arrangement on to the pilasters, or even on to the lower reserved band which separated the main composition from the secondary one.

Despite, however, the smaller variations that are visible, the essential unity of scheme is striking, and it cannot be doubted that they form a coherent group. The surviving members alone make it clear that they are the products of a vigorous local tradition of grave-stone, turned out in quantity by fairly unsophisticated workmen. The style of the sculpture is that which has been recognised as 'Italic'; it is characterised by a flat-planed, large-eyed rendering of faces and the prevalence of a linear, schematic treatment of drapery. The style itself, and the employment of materials whose only advantage lay in their ready accessibility, can leave no doubt that the workmanship was native and local; moreover, prefabrication was impossible, because the central figure must represent, in size and feature, the person or persons commemorated, and further individual touches might often be added in the form of a typical scene or an emblem of craft. Hence indifferent artistic quality and the domination of formula were encouraged by the circumstances under which the stelae were made; but they nevertheless afforded a glimpse into the lives of the clients who commissioned them, and at the same time permit some conclusions about the survival of local traditions in Roman Italy.

Elsewhere on Italian soil, stelae of the same general form occur, but only in definite local distribution. Grave-monuments of the heroon type had indeed been already familiar in Tarentum and elsewhere in Hellenistic Magna Graecia.[76] It

[73] Forti II, nos. 3, 7, 17, 22, 23, 32. For painted stelae of the Hellenistic period, cf. A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, pp. 156–157.

[74] For the cemetery at Teano, see E. Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, xx, 1910, pp. 10–15.

[75] E.g. *CIL* X, 4052, 4351, 4358.

[76] R. Pagenstecher, *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler*, pp. 79–117.

may, however, be doubted whether these were the direct prototype of the Campanian stele; for in them the architectural feeling is very remote, and in the slender, widely-spaced pilasters and their imaginary capitals it is not easy to detect a direct derivation from the naiskos form of monument; such fantastic ornament had already been a feature of Attic and Asiatic stelae of Hellenistic times. On the other hand, it is striking that in Rome itself there is no parallel to the Campanian stelae. While it is true that on some funerary bases of a later date the aedicola frame and its derivatives are to be found, monuments in Rome almost invariably use the portrait bust, in earlier periods with no framing at all.[77] The full-length relief portrait so common in Capua is extremely rare in Rome, with or without frame.[78] Much closer in conception and in form are some of the funerary stelae from various centres in North Italy and the Western provinces, where a powerful and perhaps directly descended tradition flourished in the first and second centuries of the Empire; yet even here the exact combination of the aedicola frame and the full-length figure does not seem to have been very common.[79] It is perhaps true, as has been claimed, that the standing figure is a feature more characteristic of Greek art, in which the form of the man was of more interest than the facial appearance; certainly in the art of Rome, and even sometimes in the provinces, the full-length figure seems often an attempt at deliberate Hellenism or at heroisation; and in other cases, more frequent in the provinces, it is to be explained by special reasons, as in military tombstones, where it was important to show armour and military insignia which could not be portrayed by a bust alone.[80] In general, parallels with the Campanian stelae are rare within the more narrowly Roman or Italic sphere; and these are but the stray similarities which were inevitable, given the narrow terms in which the Roman gravestone moved in the period involved. For an abundant local tradition such as that presented by Capua and its immediate neighbours, parallels are not to be found except in the Greek East.

The tradition of the Campanian stelae is thus coherent and locally defined. When is the series to be dated? Previous discussions of this question have concentrated almost exclusively upon the style of the sculpture, and it will thus be convenient to consider first what value should be attached to a stylistic dating. The uncertainties in dating by style are at all times considerable, and in the present case are still more formidable. The sculpture is itself extremely simple, while the materials in which it was produced were not those best capable of responding to or long retaining the finer expressions of the chisel; it is moreover a local tradition which may not reflect perfectly the currents of fashion in Rome itself. It is therefore not surprising that those scholars who have considered the matter do not make specific attributions. The most famous stele of the group, that of M. Publilius Satyr (pl. XXI,*a*; *CIL* X, 8222) has excited attention since it shows in its lower panel the sale of a slave: some would attribute it to the last period of the Republic;[81]

[77] For examples, Amelung, *Vatikankatalog*, I, Taf. 32, 13a; 36, 60e.

[78] Rare instances, e.g. *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, liv, 1926, 177; *Not. Scav.* 1955, p. 206.

[79] See the illuminating discussions by G. A. Mansuelli in *Studi Simeoni* (*Atti della Dep. di Storia Patria per la Romagna*, n.s. iv, 1953) vol. ii, pp. 237–279. *Studi Calderini e Paribeni*, iii, pp. 365–384.

[80] For the 'heroizing' style, cf. Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, p. 219, figs. 179–180. Military style, Amelung, *Vatikankatalog*, i, Taf. 28, 137 p; Taf. 30, 163.

[81] So H. Gummerus, *Klio*, xii, 1912, pp. 500–503. B. Laum, *Germania*, ii, 1918, pp. 108–112; Forti I, no. 20.

and Rostovtzeff suggested the Late Republic or Early Empire as possible limits.[82] The specimens found in the cemetery at Cales were placed, partly on stylistic grounds, in the early imperial period by their original excavator;[83] while a better preserved stele (pl. XXI, *d*), recently discovered on the outskirts of Capua, was hesitantly placed in the same period by its publisher.[84] The two facts upon which such dates depend are those of hair-style and the type of drapery. Some, though not all, of the stelae show the distinctive style of woman's hair which has been called the 'Octavia-frisur'; yet the date at which this style became current in Rome is itself in dispute—it is first certainly attested upon a coin of 45 B.C., but in the nearly complete absence of dated monuments may be some time earlier.[85] Another criterion has been sought in the style of the toga: several of the Campanian stelae show the smaller and more constricted form, the 'toga exigua,' familiar in pre-Sullan monuments, while others have the fuller and more voluminous toga, with its more complex folds, which is clearly in evidence upon Augustan works. Yet the date of the transition from the old to the new fashion cannot be fixed with accuracy; suggestions range from 90 to 50 B.C., and it is in any case likely that the change was a gradual one.[86] Furthermore, within the series of Campanian stelae a progression is visible in the sculptural rendering of the face and the drapery: a cruder style, with deep-cut linear outlines and large-eyed faces gives way to a rather more naturalistic style, with more flowing treatment of drapery and, in the few observable instances, a rounder and fuller rendering of the face. Such facts suggest that the stelae may extend over a period of time. Absolute dates, however, are to seek. A recent scholar[87] would scale the entire series down into the first century A.D., admitting a few from the time of the Second Triumvirate; among the earliest he would place the stele of Vinuleia M.l. Vassa[88] and that of Furius Philocalus[89] on the grounds of linear style and an early form of the 'Octavia-frisur.' So late a dating is not reconcilable with historical arguments, as will be shown later; but may be questioned also on grounds of style. A closely related head in the Naples Museum was placed by the same scholar about 60 B.C.[90] In their treatment of the toga, many stelae show the small 'sinus' frequently found on Republican monuments (cf. pl. XXI); and even the fuller toga is paralleled in later Republican fashions, as shown for instance in the statue of a togatus from Tusculum.[91] Miss Forti, on the other hand, follows the consensus of opinion in seeing the series extending from the first century B.C. to about the mid-first century A.D.;[92] and it is doubtful whether stylistic analysis can go any further. In conclusion, it is unnecessary to insist upon the uncertainties of a stylistic dating; but it may safely be said that for the bulk of the Campanian stelae, a date within the last century of the Republic or the early decades of the Empire will not be inconsistent with the stylistic criteria that have been adduced.

[82] *Soc. and Econ. Hist.*, 2nd edn., pl. xii, 2.
[83] A. Sogliano, *Not. Scav.* 1883, pp. 515–519.
[84] G. Carettoni, *Not. Scav.* 1943, pp. 140–143.
[85] J. Sieveking, *Gnomon*, viii, 1932, pp. 420–421. O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, Taf. 13, 7–8. The facts are clearly stated by B. Felleti Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano: i Ritratti*, pp. 51–52.
[86] On the problem of the toga, Sieveking, pp. 417–419; Vessberg, pp. 177–179. L. Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlvii, 1932, p. 246, n. 2.
[87] Vessberg, p. 205.
[88] *EE* VIII, 557; Vessberg, Taf. xlv, 2; Forti I, tav., viii, 24.
[89] *CIL* X, 3969; Vessberg, Taf. xlv, 1; Forti II, tav., ii.
[90] *Studien*, p. 241.
[91] See F. Goethert, *Röm. Mitt.*, liv, 1939, p. 179 (Taf. 38, 2).
[92] Forti I, pp. 69–72.

The attempt to investigate the other datable features of the inscriptions has not yet been made. But in the first place it is necessary to establish how extensive the occurrence of the stele was. The sixty stelae included in Miss Forti's survey do not by any means exhaust the total of extant specimens. Many more are known from other towns of Campania; modern discoveries confirm the presence of such stones at Sinuessa, Cales, Teanum Sidicinum and elsewhere. Another more considerable source remains to be tapped, although it is one that must be used with care. Those inscriptions may be added which, although now lost or inaccessible, have been described fully enough to enable a certain identification. The mention of full-length figures and the pedimental aedicola may be surely taken as sufficient criteria for enrolment among the stelae, for the combination is otherwise unknown in Campanian epigraphy. Where earlier editors mention only the presence of busts or 'protomae' care is needed, for they are also found on funerary bases of a later period; yet where other earlier features are present, these may be taken to qualify the stone as a stele. Frequently, earlier editors reproduced the form of the Latin as it stood on the stone; this is often decisive, for it is a tendency of the preserved stelae to write words vertically down the pilasters framing the figures. A further check is offered by the formula 'ossa hic sita sunt,' or in abbreviated form, 'O H S S'; the words are frequent on the stelae, though not confined to them; but the phrase is significantly local in its appearance, being rare outside Capua and the towns of the immediate neighbourhood, and it disappears later.[93]

The following is a list of all known stelae, whether extant or not; in some cases, known only at second hand, an element of doubt remains, and these have been registered as merely probable.

From Capua, the following inscriptions have been described and most of them illustrated in the studies of Miss Forti cited above. They are here listed for convenience.

CIL X, 3875, 3969, 3972, 3978, 3991, 4004, 4008, 4011, 4046, 4047, 4053 (pl. XXI, *b*), 4056, 4059, 4062, 4065, 4074, 4076, 4095, 4099, 4106, 4111, 4119, 4122, 4163, 4173, 4174, 4175, 4198, 4231, 4260, 4266, 4289, 4321, 4322, 4336, 4344, 4347, 4350, 4370, 4374, 4393, 4402, 4411, 4420, 4422, 4428, 8222 (pl. XXI, *a*).

EE VIII, 504.
Forti II, nos. 7, 17, 22, 23, 27, 32 are uninscribed in their present state.
Forti I, no. 15 (= Mazocchi, no. 201).
Forti I, no. 22 (= Egbert, p. 287, no. 8).
Forti II, no. 21 (= Mazocchi, no. 4).

The following stones may certainly be classified as stelae, whether from preserved descriptions or in a few cases from personal inspection:

CIL X, 3884, 3998, 4014, 4024, 4030, 4037, 4043, 4074, 4097, 4105, 4107, 4110 (pl. XXI, *c*), 4131, 4148, 4150, 4165, 4187, 4197, 4235, 4245, 4249, 4251, 4265, 4278, 4286, 4297, 4302, 4315, 4324, 4327, 4381, 4400, 4403, 4429, 4435, 4472 (cf. addendum on p. 976), 8231 (illegible).

A few more certain instances may be added from other sources:

EE VIII, 505.
Mazocchi, no. 19 ('sotto l'epigrafe tre persone di mezzo busto con le teste scancellate.' Compare Forti I, tav. 4, 12 and 13).
Mazocchi, no. 124 ('tres figurae').
Mazocchi, no. 161 ('imago viri, imago muliebris consertis bracchiis.' Compare Forti I, tav. 4, 11; tav. 7, 20).
Not. Scav. 1943, p. 141 (pl. X XI, *d*).

[93] Stray examples from Rome, *CIL* VI, 9289, 23532; the latter are probably of Campanian origin.

The following are probably but not certainly stelae:

CIL X, 3939 ('cippus ingens, protomae manibus iunctis').

CIL X, 3955, 4029, 4202, 4277, Mazocchi no. 47 are not specifically said to have carried sculpture, but the arrangement of the Latin suggests that they were stelae.

CIL X, 4038, 4039, 4044, 4229 are known to have had busts, and the formulae are those normal on stelae.

CIL X, 4207, 4208 ('effigies'); the formulae are those normal on stelae.

The above list only concerns inscriptions found at Capua. Further stelae are known from other towns that lay within the radius of Capuan influences, chiefly those in the close proximity. It is also noteworthy that no member of the group has been found in any town of Southern Campania, nor yet in Puteoli, where the inscriptions are numerous but largely of imperial date.

Atella. *CIL* X, 3744, 3752 are certain. The boundaries of Atella are uncertain, and the stones may strictly belong to Capua.

Cales. *CIL* X, 4696 is certain.

EE VIII, 540, 543, 551, 553, 555, 557. These are now in the Museo Campano, together with three uninscribed stelae from the same site. No. 551 still retains traces of stucco, and it is likely that the others, which carry no sculpture, were also intended to be painted. For a description, see *Not. Scav.* 1883, pp. 415–9; Forti I, nos. 24, 25 = EE, 552 and 555.

CIL X, 4680 is possibly a stele; cf. below, p. 101.
The formula O H S S recurs often.

Caiatia. *CIL* X, 4605 is certain.

Teanum Sidicinum. *CIL* X, 4809, *EE* VIII, 574 are certain.

Four stelae with fragmentary inscriptions in Latin were found in the cemetery published by Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.* xx, 1910, pp. 12–15.

Another stray, *Not. Scav.* 1929, p. 177.

A solitary stele (otherwise unpublished?) mentioned by A. Maiuri, *Passeggiate Campane*, 2nd ed., i, p. 182.

Sinuessa. *EE* VIII, 563 is certain; cf. below, p. 101.

Isola di Sora. *EE* VIII, 609 is certain.

The above list cannot be taken as complete, but represents rather a minimum. The indications of sculpture and ornament given by earlier editors were often careless or erroneous. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* sometimes omits all mention of sculptures (so in *CIL* X 4046, 4065, 4111, 4122, 4370, 4420); in other cases the descriptions are misleading (in *CIL* X, 4428, 'persona stans'—actually three standing figures; in 3986, 4004, 4008, 'protomae'—understand full-length figures; in 4344, 'effigies'—in fact, a bust; in 4105, 'figurae tres stantes'—actually four; in 4289, 'vir et mulieres duae'—they are three women, as the Latin demands; in 3976, there is no sculpture). Many more stelae may thus lie concealed in the inscriptions of *CIL* and *EE*, which might be revealed by a careful search of earlier literature.

The number of Campanian stelae that are certain or virtually so is thus seen to be about 120. From this large series, can anything be inferred as to date?

(i) The character of the lettering seems early. Where legible it may be best seen and adjudged in Miss Forti's photographs. The prevalent style is a square-framed, chunky, sanseriph lettering, the closest parallels to which are of Republican date (cf. pl. XXI, *d.* Forti I, tav. 2; tav. 3, 11 and 13, etc.). In others, the lettering has become a little taller, the verticals not quite true, the incised strokes too thin for their size, giving an irregular wiry effect, which may also be easily compared with Republican inscriptions (pl. XXI, *c;* cf. the terminal cippi of the censors of 55 B.C., E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae*: *tabulae*, viii, e. At Pompeii, the text of Sullan date (*CIL* X, 794, *ILS* 5538) reproduced in G. O. Onorato, *Inscrizioni Pompeiane*: *la Vita Pubblica*, p. 49). There is an attempt to add seriphs (e.g. Forti I, tav. 3, 6; 5, 16; II, tav. 2, 3; 3, 3); the resulting forms are crude and recall the early form of 'rustic capitals' or the actuarial hand (e.g. Hübner, *Exempla scripturae epigraphicae latinae*, nos. 135–6). Only two surviving stones show a bolder lapidary style of lettering: they are the stelae of Sacratoria Laudica (Forti I, tav. 3, 9) and of M. Carulius (Forti I, tav. 4, 12—a series of busts, which may indeed be slightly later).

(ii) The orthography of the Latin shows many certainly archaic traits:

heic 4024, 4043, 4297, 4428, 3955, 4046	*sueis* 4053
sibei 4053 = I² 1589	*unguentariei* 3975
seibi 4350, 4059	*Paapus* 3986
Blastei EE VIII, 504	*Puupae* 4315
Preimae 4044	*suuo* 4265

There are other frequent orthographical oddities found in archaic inscriptions, like the omission of the aspirate (*Stepanus, Pilumina, Parnaces*). Also:

avomculus 4321 *opstetrix* 4972 *Pricipi* 4411

(iii) The formulae employed also incline to suggest an earlier rather than a later date. The words *ossa hic sita sunt*, which are significantly local in their appearance, seem an early feature, and occur rarely in imperial inscriptions (an example in *CIL* VI, 23532 of 14 B.C., perhaps a Campanian family); they are later replaced by the commoner *Dis Manibus* formula, which seems to begin in the Augustan period (cf. Weynand, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cviii–ix (1902), p. 189). No stele uses the later form.

A word may be said in parenthesis on the stele of a schoolmaster, Furius Philocalus (*magister ludi litterari*, *CIL* X, 3969), who is commemorated in a curious and obscure poem in iambic senarii. Mommsen supposed that, in referring to the human body as 'castellum animae,' the poet was imitating Hadrian's famous lines to his soul, 'hospes comesque corporis'; Buecheler (*Carmina epigraphica*, no. 91) considered it a deliberately archaising product of the second century A.D. But the style of the sculpture is highly archaic and a Republican date for the poem must be preferred. (Cf. H. Nissen, *Hermes* i (1868), p. 147; O. Vessberg, *Studien*, p. 205 and Taf. 45, 1).

In the cases where stelae have no inscription, whether through loss or other causes, the sculpture is not strikingly different from the other examples; whereas those inscriptions which abolish sculptural ornament but otherwise retain the pedimental form of the stele seem to share the archaic traits discussed above (e.g. *CIL* X, 4052, 4351, 4358, all now in the Naples Museum).

Although the epigraphical or linguistic arguments considered above will not support an exact dating, they are nevertheless sufficiently strong to indicate that some at least of the Campanian stelae are of a relatively early Republican period. On these grounds Mommsen himself included several stelae among the inscriptions of pre-Caesarian date. It remains to consider what may be derived from the content of the texts as to their date.

(i) It is a striking negative fact that no stele refers to Imperial conditions. In particular, although the persons represented upon the stelae are mostly freedmen or of freedman origin, not one Imperial freedman occurs. The stone (now lost) which commemorated C. Iulius C.l. Cerdo and others (*CIL* X, 4680, from Cales) is no exception; for it is not certain that this was in fact a stele in form, and in any case Imperial freedmen seem to have invariably called themselves *Aug. lib.*

(ii) Undoubtedly Republican is EE VIII, 563, from Sinuessa; 'A. Postumi Albini l. Philippi O H S S.' From the original description, this is clearly one of the group (*Atti della Commissione di Caserta*, 1886, p. 128; '. . . terminando nella parte superiore a forma triangolare, avente un rosone nel centro. . .'). The Postumii Albini died out in the early decades of the last century of the Republic; the last of his *gens* was probably that Albinus who fell at the Colline Gate, and no others are known (App. *Bell. Civ.* i, 431. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien*, p. 405). Other freedmen of the same *gens* appear in early inscriptions at Praeneste (G. Gullini and F. Fasolo, *Il Santuario di Fortuna Primigenia a Praeneste*, p. 276, no. 13; 277, no. 16).

(iii) *CIL* X, 3884, which is reproduced in the text and disposition recorded by Ajossa, is also a stele, although in the manner of his time its editor spoke of it as 'marmo' where limestone would be expected.

M. Britius M.l Philaros pater		M. Britius Spuri f. miles de l. VII p. o.h.s.s.
	Britia M.l Lais mater vivit	
effigies		*effigies*

For the style of the inscription, cf. Forti I, no. 3 (*CIL* X, 4173) and Forti II, no. 9 (*CIL* X, 4411).

In 44 B.C. Caesar settled legionaries in Campania who in autumn of the same year were recalled to arms by the young Octavian. The two legions mentioned are VII and VIII (Nic. Dam. F 130 c. 132, Jacoby). VIII was partly settled at Teanum Sidicinum (*ILS* 2239); while VII appears at Capua in the above inscription and in *CIL* X, 3886. The name is a local one; and the supplement *de l(egione) VII p(aterna)* (cf. Ritterling, P–W XII, 1614–5) indicates that Britius was among those who now enlisted for Octavian, whose propaganda was at this point concerned to stress his father's benefits (Cic. *Phil.* XI, 37. Nic. Dam. F 130 c. 134, Jacoby). A date shortly after this event cannot be far wrong for this inscription.

No other military epitaphs are of the characteristic stele form. Evidence does not permit certainty about *CIL* X, 4148, the stele of a freedman with 'emblemata militaria' in the central field; freedmen could on occasion be enlisted, but the man is perhaps a gladiator.

(iv) The stele of Q. Tullius Paapus, glad(iarius) has long been recognised as Republican (*CIL* X, 3986 = I^2, 1605. Forti II, 28 and p. 330). Compare the group of freedmen of the gens Tullia on Delos, among which appears Q. Tullius [. .]pus (*CIL* I^2, 2651).

(v) The names recorded on the stelae show many similarities with those of the Campanian magistri, but precise identifications are not easy where the magistri are so often lacking *cognomina*. List 23 has *A. Nasennius A.l. Prot*, with which cf. *Nasennia Ↄ.Ↄ.l. Prota* in *CIL* X, 3998. It is, however, not always possible to assume identity from mere coincidence of name, which may easily occur with the commoner gentile names and repetitive *cognomina*; Cicero's remarks on the Cornelii (Ap. Asc., p. 75, Clark) are a warning against seeking too many identifications.

The direct chronological evidence for the Campanian stelae is thus unanimous in leading back into the Republican period. It is more important to ask how this artistic tradition conforms to what is known of Campanian conditions of the time, and to discover whence it originated, and if possible under what circumstances it flourished and declined.

At what period and through what channels the pedimental stele first made its appearance on Italic soil are problems which, in the present state of knowledge, can hardly be answered with categorical certainty. Yet there are indications at least that the tradition was a native one of respectable antiquity. It is true that, even where the circumstances of discovery have been recorded, little chronological information emerges; the finds from Cales threw little light on the matter, and the cemeteries of Capua itself were often re-used in Roman times.[94] Cruder or simpler forerunners of the Capuan stelae may well have been produced upon destructible media like painted wood or terracotta, and few of these would have survived the calamities of the Second Punic War.[95] Their characteristic style is to be recognised in the surviving examples of Oscan sculpture. The tufa votive statues and terracotta heads found in the sanctuary of the 'Fondo Patturelli' show the same linearity and schematic emphasis of eyes and mouth, as do some early limestone fragments in the round; and this distinctive 'Italic' rendering of the face finds close parallels in the archaic sculpture of Palestrina.[96] But the decisive confirmation that the tradition evolved continuously from pre-Roman times is supplied by the cemetery of Teanum Sidicinum, substantially of the Hellenistic period, where eight recognisable examples of such stelae were found, four inscribed in Oscan and four in Latin.[97] The remaining fragments of Oscan stelae are sufficient to show that the legend was

[94] *Not. Scav.* 1883, p. 516; 1943, pp. 140–143.

[95] The small terracotta aedicola found among the dedications in the Fondo Patturelli was held by Altmann (*Röm. Grab.*, p. 138) to show a ritual origin; but the aedicola shows traces of plaster which is probably late, and hardly explains the form of *sepulchral* monuments. Cf. Koch, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxii, 1907, p. 389.

[96] A. Adriani, *Il Museo Campano: Sculture in tufo*. Compare the head published by A. De Franciscis, *Not. Scav.* 1956, pp. 54–5; and the late-second-century head from Palestrina in B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*, p. 57.

[97] Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, xx, 1910, pp. 10–15; Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, no. 123.

cut on the architrave and filled in with red paint, thus reproducing the same custom as the later ones. A closely related form of aedicola-gravestone with Oscan inscription is known from Anxia in Lucania;[98] and others have been found at Cumae, although in these it is the inscription that is carried in the central panel between the pilasters instead of sculptured figures.[99] More examples, degenerate in form or fragmentary, are also to hand.[100] The evidence of these monuments is of great importance in revealing that the origins of the pedimental stele are to be found in the earlier Italic culture of Campania rather than in foreign influences, and that the descent is a direct one to the limestone and tufa stelae of the Roman Republican period. That such a craft was of long standing in the area may account for the apparent contradiction in a markedly 'Hellenic' form of monument combined with a strong 'Italic' sculptural style. For although it is profitless to pursue questions of ultimate ancestry, the existence of such stelae in the states of Magna Graecia and Sicily[101] is enough to suggest the routes by which the tradition arrived. In their later form indeed, the Capuan stelae, with their more prominent architectural elements and more careful workmanship are more sophisticated, but it is clear that they were a development of artistic forms that had existed for some time. Confirmation may be found in the transmission of the style to Northern Italy, where the fashion had arrived by the mid-first century B.C., introduced no doubt by emigrants from the Italic regions of the peninsula.[102]

When and for what reasons the tradition of the Campanian stelae was finally extinguished is perhaps a more urgent question and is not without interest for the survival of local usages within Roman Italy. Approximate indications are already to hand: the style of sculpture will not support too late a date, while the inscriptions contain no hint of imperial conditions. There was no change in population that might explain the disappearance. A more mundane solution must be offered—the revolution in materials.

It is a noteworthy fact that none of more than sixty surviving Campanian stelae are carved in marble, but that they regularly used local materials as they were available, limestone or tufa. The statement remains true for those that have perished or are now inaccessible. For nearly all cases, this is explicitly assured by reliable descriptions; and although for a very few the older antiquarians writers refer to 'marmor,' 'marmo' or similar words, it is a familiar fact that such terms designated any ancient inscription, and can never be taken as an indication of geological truth.[103] The materials which were used for inscriptions often contain information, chronological and otherwise.[104] The introduction and widespread use of Italian marble is an event which may be dated fairly precisely, seeming to

[98] F. Ribezzo, *Riv. indo-greco-italica*, viii, 1924, pp. 85–86. Vetter, no. 184.

[99] Conway, 88, 89, 90; Vetter, 109, 110, 111, 112; *Not. Scav.* 1913, p. 408; Maiuri, *Neapolis*, i, 1914, pp. 404–408.

[100] Two Oscan gravestones in the Museo Campano, published only by Vetter, *Handbuch*, no. 73, are there described as 'tischartig'; but the upper part of the stone is clearly meant to show a pediment and acroteria, and they are thus rudimentary stelae. The material, a compact grey tufa, points to an origin in Cales.

[101] Pagenstecher, *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler*, pp. 79–117. Compare the painted aedicolae from Lilybaeum; B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, ii, p. 279; E. Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, xxxiii, 1929, pp. 44–47. From Massilia, Espérandieu, *Basreliefs de la Gaule romaine*, i, p. 48.

[102] Mansuelli, *Studi Calderini e Paribeni*, p. 377.

[103] A. E. Gordon, *California Publications in Class. Arch.*, i, pp. 159–168.

[104] As Mommsen realised too late: see the last-minute note in *CIL* X, p. 967.

coincide with the period of the Second Triumvirate or of Augustus, and is part of that basic revolution in techniques which distinguishes the early Imperial monuments from those that immediately precede them.[105] The abundant use of marble in inscriptions had to await the exploitation of the Italian quarries near Luna, and this event, in its turn, depended upon the development, in the late years of the Republic and the first of the Empire, of an organisation capable of transporting and delivering the bulky cargoes involved.[106] Thus, even outside Rome itself, its use remained a comparative rarity until the Augustan age. In Pompeii, Luna marble makes its first appearance tentatively in structural contexts of the Second Style;[107] and in its inscriptional uses the easily datable documents of Pompeii exactly reflect the situation elsewhere.[108] No Oscan or early Latin titulus is known to have used Luna marble; but they frequently employed a compact and fine-grained variety of local limestone which is geologically quite distinct, but which in a weathered state may bear a delusive similarity to heavily patinated marble.[109] Among Latin inscriptions, although one or two strays may be of the late Republic, those on marble, from the largest down to the humblest gravestones, begin in remarkable volume with the age of Augustus.[110] The particularly well-defined evidence of Pompeii thus presents a clear picture of the effects of the new industry, and these may be paralleled in the rich epigraphy of Puteoli as in the abundant material of Rome itself. In virtue of its close economic connection with Rome, and the facilities offered by the River Volturnus for water-haulage, Capua itself can hardly have failed to show the effects of such developments. No surviving inscription, indeed, of Republican date is on marble; while the rather belated employment of terracotta in such contexts as architectural ornament suggests that the original luxury of Capua had owed nothing to the use of marble. The fact is the more striking, in view of the easy proximity of substantial marble deposits, which though accessible and familiar to the builders of later ages, seem in antiquity to have attracted no systematic exploitation.[111]

In considering humbler traditions of art, the non-appearance of marble among so large a group as the Campanian stelae may be taken as generally indicative, but cannot in itself be decisive, for it is plain enough that local stone-quarries were still used. Once again, there is a conclusive analogy in the native forms of burial found at Pompeii. Here, the humbler monuments are represented by a numerous group of small herms, which consisted in their original form of square cut columns

[105] Tenney Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, p. 34; M. E. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy*, pp. 50–60.

[106] Strab. 5, 2, 5. Cf. J. B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS*, xli, 1951, pp. 89–104.

[107] Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, p. 177.

[108] In general, A. Degrassi, *Riv. Fil.*, lxiv, 1936, p. 279. The fifteen earlier examples adduced by A. E. Gordon are in fact on travertine or limestone where they survive; cf. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Liberae Reipublicae* (1956) for more accurate data.

[109] Conway, *Italic Dialects*, i, p. 60. Conway no. 45, from the Porta di Nola, is called marble in error; it is in fact on a fine local limestone (with thanks to Mr. D. E. Strong, of the British Museum, for the information).

[110] The titulus of Sullan date, *CIL* I², 1627, often said to be of marble, is evidently also of compact limestone. For an early use of marble *CIL* I², 1638 may be cited.

[111] The quarries of Alvignano, the ancient Cubulteria, in the upper Volturnus valley, were exploited under Trajan, but the specific mention of the fact suggests that it was exceptional (*CIL* X, 4574). That the marble-like limestone of Vitulano was used at Pompeii (*T.C.I. Guide, Campania*, p. 181) is not likely. Likewise, the export of marble claimed for Salernum by V. Panebianco (*Rass. Stor. Salern.*, vi, 1945, p. 29) rests solely upon *CIL* X, 542, surely a stray from Ostia. On Sicilian marbles, B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà*, ii, p. 523.

of local stone (tufa, lava or limestone), and terminated in a more or less crudely fashioned head intended to portray the dead person's features; the inscription, briefly giving the name, status and length of life, are cut on the shaft of the herm. These, too, were used to mark the ownership of a burial enclosure, but later (in this unlike the Capuan stelae) came also to be included in a family sepulchre, to mark the spot where the ashes were placed.[112] Although these 'cippi' have never been systematically studied, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they are the exact equivalent, in a different setting, of the Campanian stelae. Like them, their owners are the humbler classes—slaves, freedmen, the small free men, craftsmen or traders; like them, they are a local tradition, confined to Pompeii and its adjacent towns. But their particular relevance lies in the fact that their development may be clearly followed. In the earlier period of the Republic, the herm-shafts are square in section, the heads they carry aim at being portraits fully in the round. But the sudden introduction of marble has dramatic effects; the earlier materials are abandoned; and with the early Principate the curious 'silhouette-herms'—tall rectangular slabs of marble, often no more than an inch or two in thickness, surmounted by a disc-like projection and a narrow neck—which preserve, as it were, in outline alone the original form of their three-dimensional forerunners. Rarely, such features as the hair may be briefly indicated; more usually, the cippus carries nothing but a record of the name. The ready supply of Luna marble—cheap, durable and attractive—is nowhere more strikingly exemplified; and the curious development makes clear, what indeed is to be deduced on other grounds, that for such patrons Luna marble was sold ready-cut into slabs. The tradition, even in its later schematised form, did not long survive the introduction of marble, and expires somewhere during the Julio-Claudian period. The tomb of Mamia P.f., who built the temple of Augustus in 7 B.C., contained sixteen such cippi, of both varieties;[113] the conspicuous monument of the Istacidii, which as a whole cannot be later than the early decades of the Principate, contained many more, including that of Cn. Melissaeus Aper, duumvir in A.D. 3–4;[114] while another marble cippus records a slave of the Empress Livia.[115] The same approximate dates are to be inferred from the contexts of the many other examples known from Pompei and elsewhere.[116] Both the time and the causes are clear for the extinction of this vivid but crude style of burial art, and its supersession by the normal and featureless rectangular slab. Just as in Capua and its sphere of influence it was the pedimental stele which prevailed, so in Southern Campania the equivalent function was fulfilled by the distinct native tradition of the herm-column.[117] Not only in the

[112] For examples, A. De Franciscis, *Il Ritratto Romano a Pompei* (Naples, 1951), p. 20. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 418, fig. 240. *Not. Scav.* 1916, pp. 296–304, figs. 10–14.

[113] *CIL* X, 999 ff. Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien*, p. 394.

[114] *CIL* X, 1008 (cf. 817). On the date, A. Maiuri, *Le Arti*, i, 1938, pp. 72–74.

[115] *CIL* X, 1023.

[116] Apart from those in *CIL*, others have been found outside the Porta Nocera (A. Mau, *Röm. Mitt.*, iii, 1888, pp. 120–149); near the Porta Stabiana (*ib.*, ix, 1894, pp. 62–65; x, 1895, pp. 156–159); and those published in *Not. Scav.* 1916, pp. 296–304. Examples from Surrentum record freedmen of the early Julio-Claudian period, *Not. Scav.* 1928, pp. 205–213.

[117] Specimens have been found at Surrentum (see note above); Stabiae (F. di Capua, *Rend. Acc. Nap.*, xix, 1938, pp. 93, 99, 102); and Nuceria (*Not. Scav.* 1932, p. 318). Mau (*Pompeii*, p. 412) is in error in saying they occur in Capua. Similar, apparently unrelated, cippi from Hadria are known, B. Forlati Tamaro, *Epigraphica*, xviii, 1956, pp. 56–69.

humbler sepulchral traditions but also in monumental sculptures, the use in Pompeii of tufa or limestone now declines sharply.[118] Even if in some respects culturally different, both regions of Campania were involved in the livelier economic movements of the early Principate, of which the marble industry and the consequent changes in popular taste are merely the expression.

The certain facts of sepulchral art in Pompeii make it to a high degree improbable that the Campanian stelae long survived the founding of the Empire and the appearance of the new materials and tastes. Unlike Pompeii, no attempt was made at Capua to adapt the pedimental stele and its high relief sculpture to the new material. Such an attempt would have demanded a greater measure of skill by the sculptor in working a more subtle medium; but—more decisive—if the characteristic high relief were to be retained, a block of marble would be needed of a size beyond the purse of any of the customary patrons. Such pedimental stelae, furthermore, represented a tradition of burial which Roman fashions seem to have been in the process of abandoning towards the end of the Republic; the earlier simple form where the body was interred within an enclosed area marked by a stele, was now giving way to greater lavishness—the larger edifices that held the ashes of an entire *familia*, or the columbarium.[119] As at Rome and Pompeii, Capua also must have been involved in these developments towards a new extravagance, with the free-standing monument and the profuse employment of marble.[120] The effects of Roman fashion may be detected in the monumental remains, some of them of conspicuous size, associated with Augustan Capua. The tomb which carried the lengthy marble inscription of L. Antistius Campanus (*CIL* X, 3903), a leading citizen of the new colony, will have been no modest one; about the same date is the epitaph of C. Titius C.l. Philargyrus, a large fragment of entablature with lettering some ten inches high (*CIL* X, 4373); and probably not far removed in time is the huge round mausoleum on the Via Appia known as the 'Carceri Vecchie,' the original structure of which may well go back to the early principate.[121] Even in more modest remains, the influence of metropolitan styles is no less noticeable. For the poorer epitaph the plain marble slab becomes regular. The portrait bust survives, it is true, upon the funerary bases of imperial date, but their form is no longer that of a stele; the manner uses the smooth, idealising formulae of a later age, the whole conception is more sophisticated and radically different.[122] In view of its close links of commerce and sentiment with Rome, there would be little doubt that Capua shared prominently in the upsurge of luxury under Augustus, even were we not informed, by unimpeachable literary authorities, of the emperor's great personal munificence to the new colony.

The conclusion resulting from several independent but converging lines of argument, must be that the numerous Campanian stelae are substantially of

[118] Nissen, *Pomp. Stud.*, p. 245.

[119] As in the cemetery of the Via Laurentina at Ostia: Scavi di Ostia, vol. iii: *Le Necropoli*, p. 63. Cf. Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*, pp. 361–373. P-W, *s.v.* 'Bestattung.' G. Rohde, P-W, *s.v.* 'os resectum.'

[120] Nissen, *Pomp. Stud.*, pp. 394–397. Mau-Kelsey, pp. 421–426. A. De Franciscis and R. Pane, *Mausolei Romani in Campania* (Naples, 1957).

[121] De Franciscis and Pane, *ib.*, pp. 87–102. Cf. *FA* VI, 4582.

[122] Of the later style, examples in Altmann *Röm. Grabaltäre*, fig. 172 (*CIL* X, 3675); fig. 175 (*CIL* X, 4220). Compare fig. 177 (*CIL* X, 1872, from Puteoli.) Others are to be seen in the main collections: thus *CIL* X, 3893 (now in the Museo Nazionale) and 4212 (now in the Museo Campano).

Republican date and their production is not likely to have survived by many years the foundation of the Augustan colony at Capua. None of the arguments adduced above, it should be clear, has in itself demonstrative force; but the cumulative indications of sculptured style, monumental form, epigraphy and content cannot be disregarded. Further, the probability of an early date derives considerable support from analogous developments elsewhere in Campania; the tradition, the origins of which must certainly be sought in Oscan times, survived throughout the Republic, to be extinguished finally by the new prosperity of the Empire and the consequent rapid changes in tastes. The stelae have a modest relevance to the history of Roman art, but are nevertheless an interesting token of the local artistic production of an indigenous population, who, while in many ways Romanised, yet still clung to many traditional and pre-Roman beliefs and practises. It is beyond the aim of this study to pursue the archaeological implications of the proposed date in other regions of the Roman world or in other spheres of artistic output. The influence of local or indigenous styles was everywhere apparent, but diverse in its manifestations; even in Campania, local schools of sculpture may have retained their distinctive mannerisms in other decorative works which have not survived.[123] The important fact that the stelae commemorate the members of the native population is to be considered in detail in the next section. The historical evidence thereby gained is considerable; for the inscriptions attest the presence of a modest population of labourers and artisans, who were indeed not without a certain pride in their craft, the successors and descendants of the earlier inhabitants of Capua. They are the 'plebs optima et modestissima' mentioned by Cicero, or that 'multitudo incolarum libertinorumque et institorum opificumque' whom Livy,[124] perhaps not quite without anachronism, declares to have been maintained in Capua after 211 B.C. to serve Roman interests. It remains to see what light may be thrown upon conditions in Campania in that period.

IV.

The foregoing pages have revealed the presence of a large body of inscriptional evidence surviving from the Republican period, and it remains in the final section of this study to see what historical relevance it has to the conditions in Campania in that time. It has been seen that the twenty-eight inscriptions of the Campanian magistri must all certainly antedate the founding of the Caesarian colony of 58 B.C., and that with a few doubtful exceptions, they must all be placed in the years between 112 and 71 B.C. The time-span covered by the funerary stelae, the successors of an earlier Oscan tradition, cannot be so precisely fixed; but as a whole they may be considered as preceding the Augustan age, and some are doubtless as early as the second century B.C. Impressive as the bulk of this evidence is, it need not be thought to exhaust the surviving material for Capua's earlier history. The possibility that many more inscriptions should be carried back into the Republican period is a strong one; it is suggested by the persistent visual impression that many of the surviving inscriptions are comparatively early, and is to some extent strengthened

[123] A 'Campanian' style has been identified in the sculptures of the amphitheatre at Capua, built under Hadrian. G. Pesce, *I rilievi dell'anfiteatro campano*.

[124] Livy, 26, 16, 8. Cf. Cic. *leg. agr.* 2, 84.

by the remarks of earlier editors—even in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* the rubrics 'litteris antiquioribus,' 'litteris optimae aetatis,' 'litteris magnis et bonis' are to be found with unusual frequency. Unsupported impressions, it is true, cannot be relied upon to distinguish a text of Republican date from one of the early Empire; yet when every allowance is made for extrinsic factors—the many gaps in the evidence or the hazards of survival—there is a striking preponderence of comparatively early examples among Capua's nine hundred or more inscriptions, which cannot be paralleled in centres like Rome or even in the neighbouring towns of Campania. That this distribution is not in itself fortuitous, but reflects the real heyday of Capua from about 150 B.C. to about A.D. 50, remains to be more clearly shown and its causes explained.

It has long been evident that the foundation of Capua's economic pre-eminence had been firmly laid in the earlier period of her political independence. Of the quality of Capuan civilisation in the years before the Second Punic War, the surviving evidence will hardly permit a rounded appreciation. Yet enough remains to show that many elements that had already been characteristic of the pre-Roman period were transmitted into the period of the Republic unaltered. The discovery of richly-decorated tombs and an extensive assortment of ornamental bronzework and terracottas, have revealed the high degree of material refinement which had evolved in the society of pre-Roman Capua.[125] It is, indeed, uncertain how far during the years of Samnite rule Capua depended upon external trade; the city may well have profited from the early introduction of iron ore from Elba, which was transported to Campania and elsewhere to be smelted; and it seems clear that there was even in primitive times some contact between Capua and the Campanian ports.[126] But of the wealth and variety of its native manufactures there is much archaeological testimony. It is impossible to estimate with any precision how great the industrial resources of Capua were in this remote period, but there is no good reason to suppose them non-existent. The legends of the luxuriousness of Capuan nobles, which had already become a conventional theme for moralists within a century after the city's reduction, may well have been founded upon living memory or even inference from the still standing buildings of the city.[127] Furthermore, that agriculture in Hellenistic Campania had long since developed beyond a simple peasant or pastoral stage may be confidently assumed; and just as the city's minor artefacts show a considerable degree of diversification, so too in agriculture more specialist and expansive forms of commercial enterprise may well have made their appearance before the Second Punic War. The situation revealed in Campania by the handbook of the elder Cato, a few decades later, shows the early tendency towards larger estates and more concentrated specialist production. Certainly there seems to be no reason to doubt the literary traditions when they speak of the presence in the earlier period of a large servile or semi-servile population, craftsmen and labourers.[128] Campania's economic importance can hardly have been ignored by the Romans when they confiscated the territories of the ancient Capuan confederacy; and this could only be intensified

[125] Heurgon, pp. 337–50; ch. xvi.
[126] Diod. 5, 13; cf. P-W, xxiii, 2039.
[127] C. Gracchus, *ORF* frg. 59; also Polybius, if correctly reported in Athen. 12, 528a.
[128] Livy, 24, 19, 2; 26, 4, 1.

in the succeeding century by the stimulus of new wealth and the brisker pace of trade with the outside world.

The most significant industry of ancient Capua to ancient writers was its bronze-working. Among the recommendations of the elder Cato are found buckets, pitchers for oil and wine and water, and other bronze vessels, all from Capua; while Pliny speaks with admiration of Capuan products, and makes valuable observations about the technical processes involved.[129] These industries certainly were the result of a long-established tradition, since Campanian skill in bronze goes back to the fifth century B.C.;[130] among later material, recent studies have done much to clarify the organisation of the industry and the nature of its products. In early imperial times it became customary to stamp the name of the maker on many of the smaller and mass-produced utensils; many of these names, as has been observed, are clearly Campanian in provenience; while the evidence of distribution in many cases leaves little doubt as to the origin. Even before makers came to record their names, arguments of technique and typology enable many certain inferences about an earlier period. That much of the ordinary Roman bronzeware was made in Capua cannot seriously be questioned. In the Augustan period the family of the Cipii were evidently of outstanding importance; the name of P. Cipius Polybius and of eight other *liberti* of the same family have been found on casseroles, strainers and other utensils not only in Italy but throughout the Western provinces and far beyond the Roman frontiers. The period of their greatest production falls doubtless in the early decades of the Empire;[131] but it is to be noted that the Cipii are an indigenous Oscan family, and the interests in the bronze industry may well begin before the time when names began to be recorded.[132] The family of the Ansii, whose freedmen made a series of products that are closely alike in type and occurrence, may perhaps be later immigrants into Capua, even though the name certainly occurs in the city;[133] but among the other manufacturers of bronze vessels, such names as Nasennius Libanus,[134] Naevius,[135] Oppius,[136] Gabinius,[137] Plinius[138] are among the earliest strata of established Capuan nomenclature. Where the names of makers are not testified in Capua itself, uncertainty subsists. The factories of Cn. Trebellius Romanus have been classed as Capuan on grounds of typology, but the name of the *gens* is not Campanian and it may have lain elsewhere; the Papirii, likewise, appear only in late inscriptions in Capua; while the products of the Cocceii, Epilii and others, though the names are common in Capua, are remarkably thinly represented in Pompeii.

Typological considerations make it probable that much of the Capuan bronze-working should be placed in Republican times, before it became habitual to stamp the names of the makers on the objects. Archaeological testimony thus supports

[129] Cato *agr.* 135; Plin. *n.h.* 34, 95.

[130] Heurgon, pp. 403–413.

[131] In general, H. Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie*; for the names of makers, pp. 85–86. See further A. Radnóti, *Die römischen Bronzgefässe von Pannonien* (*Diss. Pann.* 1938), pp. 44–56. The activity of the Cipii cannot be so late as Flavian (Radnóti, p. 53); their products were found in the destruction layer at Colchester (Hawkes and Hull, *Camelodunum*, p. 334) as at Hofheim (E. Ritterling, *Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim*, p. 181), and in earlier finds near Locarno (*c.* 20 A.D. N. Lamboglia, *Riv. Stud. Lig.*, ix, 1943, p. 166).

[132] Magistri-list 10 (twice); stele, *CIL* X, 4076.

[133] *CIL* X, 4013.

[134] List 23; stele X, 4173 = Forti I, 4; cf. X, 3998.

[135] List 19; stele X, 4435.

[136] cf. List 24; stele X, 4047.

[137] *CIL* X, 4155, *litteris vetustis*.

[138] Lists 6 and 7.

the evidence of other kinds for the high degree of organisation of Capuan industry at an early date. A certain *P. Baebius N.l. aerarius* is attested as magister of Mercurius Felix in 105 B.C., and a *gla(diarius)* in 104 B.C. is also probable.[139] Another maker of swords occurs on the stele *CIL* X, 3986 = I² 1605. A Republican tombstone of *C. Magius C.l. Alexander scutarius* illustrates in sculpture the rounded shields which he produced. In the late Republic or early Empire, M. Hordionius Philargurus Labeo, a *lanternarius*, indicates his occupation by the bronze lantern carved upon his tomb.[141] An archaic inscription of *Q. Tiburti Q.l. Menolaui cultrari* carries in sculpture two knives, which were doubtless the objects of his manufacture.[142] Considerable specialisation is evident not merely in epitaphs of this kind, but also in two uninscribed sepulchral reliefs, originally parts of two tombs and now kept in the Naples Museum: one shows the products of the bronze-smith's handiwork—situlae, articles of armour, various household implements, and a small bronze table; while another shows the *faber aerarius* in his workshop with all his implements of trade about him.[143] The bronze industries formed, therefore, a considerable element in Capua's wealth in the Republican period, as they had done even before the Romans intervened; there seems to have been no serious decline until the mid-first century A.D. when provincial centres began to produce their own wares.

From an early date, the textiles of Capua are mentioned by literary authorities; and in particular the cultivation of flax, demanding a rich and well-watered soil.[144] Ideally situated, Capua might also avail itself of the wool from the upper Samnite regions, and of the various crops—spartum, millet, linen—grown in Campania itself. Once more, archaeological evidence leaves little doubt that these activities were well established at a fairly early date. To be noted among the magistri are *D. Roscius Q.l. lintio* (no. 9), *Cn. Octavius N.l. vestiarius* (no. 8), and *P. Servius N.l. purpurarius* (no. 10). Possibly in the form of a Republican stele, certainly early in date, is the tombstone of another *purpurarius*, and further evidence is also to hand from a later period.[145]

More characteristic of Capua, and the subject of many earnest diatribes against luxury, was the mastery in the field of perfumes and unguents. The dealers in these wares possessed, it would seem, an entire market place in the ancient town, the wealthy and ill-famed Seplasia, where from time immemorial their products had been dispensed.[146] The name itself became proverbial for wealth, and the reputation it acquired may owe something to moralising disputations on Capuan luxury, but clearly not all; to Varro and Cicero it seemed to typify the riches of ancient Capua.[147] 'Seplasium' becomes the name of a perfume, 'seplasiarius' a synonym for perfume-seller. That Capua's reputation was a long-founded one in this respect need hardly be doubted; *unguentarii* appear in inscriptions of undeniably

[139] Lists 10, 11. A later *aerarius*, *CIL* X, 3988.

[140] *CIL* X, 3971; H. Gummerus, *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.*, xxviii, 1913, p. 84, fig. 12.

[141] *CIL* X, 3970; S. Loeschke, *Bonn. Jahrb.*, cxviii, 1909, p. 391, fig. 10; Gummerus, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[142] *CIL* I², 1604; Gummerus, *op. cit.*, p. 83, fig. 11. A *cultrarius* of imperial date, *CIL* X, 3987.

[143] H. Willers, *op. cit.*, Taf. v, no. 4. H. Gummerus, *op. cit.*, p. 73, fig. 4.

[144] Cato, *agr.* 135; Plaut. *Pseud.* 146; Plin. *n.h.* 19, 10–11; Grat. *Cyneg.* 35.

[145] *CIL* X, 3973. Two *vestiarii* of imperial date, *CIL* X, 3959–60. A *sandaliarius*, X 3981.

[146] Fest. 458 L: Seplasia forum Capuae, in quo plurimi unguentarii erant. Ascon. *in Pis.* 24. Pomponius, frg. 160 Ribbeck.

[147] Varro, *Sat. Men.*, vii, 3. Cic. *Pis.* 24.

early date.[148] The making of perfumes was always in antiquity closely allied to another craft, the production of medicines. Capua had once been famous for her medicaments as may be inferred from the remarks of Pliny, in which he chastised careless doctors who relied upon the materials of the Seplasia without investigating their ingredients; indeed, Plautus mentions the import into the town of silphium, presumably through the port of Puteoli.[149] 'Medici' are not unknown in Capua, though the inscriptional evidence fails to suggest that they were endowed with any special qualities of skill or learning.[150] That certain kinds of Capuan wine, whose sale is attested in Pompeii, were medicinal in content, has been attractively conjectured.[151] While many of the raw materials would have lain to hand in the roses and other herbs for which the town was famed, it is plain that much of her reputation rested upon the spices and perfumes that came from the East. It is thus significant that L. Novius Dionysius, an *unguentarius* recorded in an archaic inscription from Capua, is also attested in Delos.[152] Cicero, further, records a certain *Plotius unguentarius* (*Att.* 13, 46, 3), charged by Cornelius Balbus to deal with an estate in Puteoli, bequeathed jointly to himself and Cicero; the same *gens* also produces in Capua one L. Plotius L.l. Philippus, who appears in Delos as a *competalistes*.[153] Such connections may serve to suggest the wide range of Capuan products and wares. There can be little doubt that her monopoly was, under the Republic, almost complete; and the sharp increase in Eastern trade under the Empire will hardly have diminished her importance for a few decades. The family of the Faenii, through their *liberti*, exercised a brisk trade in these wares: their influence extended beyond Campania to Rome and the provinces.[154] Other families involved in perfumes doubtless exercised their commerce in both centres. The extensive commercial use of freedmen tended to assist the domination of a few large families and lent, perhaps, to the activities of the Seplasia a greater cohesion than in other industries; in the time of Nero a certain tax-farmer Demetrius was charged before the consuls by the united merchants of the Seplasia with his excessive import duties, and the incident, striking enough to be remembered, was not without its effects upon the fiscal policies of that emperor.[155]

That Capua's products included other kinds of luxurious artefacts from an early date is also clearly implied. Articles of furniture are mentioned by Pliny, and the tradition may be confirmed by inscriptions.[156] Vessels of bronze, silver and gold were part of the familiar Roman apparatus of luxury, and it is plain that these crafts too, were of some standing. Thus two stelae of Republican date bear witness to the presence of *aurifices*.[157] The term for a worker in silver, *argentarius*, appears, but as the word was also used to describe bankers it cannot, perhaps, unless further

[148] *CIL* I², 1594; cf. X 3968, 3974, 3979, 3982 with Mazocchi no. 360.

[149] Plin. *n.h.* 34, 108; 16, 40. Plaut. *Rud.* 629.

[150] *CIL* X, 3955 (stele); cf. 3980 and *EE* VIII, 486. An *obstetrix* X 3972 (stele). Note the doctor Minatus on Delos *c.* 160 B.C.

[151] *CIL* IV, 2826; cf. Galen, xii, 753. P. Remark, *De amphorarum inscriptionibus Latinis*, Diss. Bonn 1912, p. 33.

[152] *CIL* I², 1594; Hatzfeld, p. 55.

[153] *CIL* X, 4291; Hatzfeld, p. 68. Cf. *CIL* X, 2935 (Puteoli).

[154] For two Faenii at Puteoli, both *thurarii*, *CIL* X, 1902; cf. 6802 and *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1898, p. 380, no. 17. At Rome, two others of the same *gens*, *CIL* VI, 5680, 9932. Note also L. Faenius Telesphorus, unguentarius Lugdunensis (*CIL* VI, 9998).

[155] Plin. *n.h.* 33, 164. Tac. *ann.* 13, 51.

[156] Plin. *n.h.* 16, 225. *CIL* X, 3965, *litteris magnis et satis antiquis*; 3957; cf. VI, 9258.

[157] *CIL* X, 3978 = Forti II, 6; 3976. Gummerus, *Klio*, xiv, 1915, pp. 148 and 182.

qualified, be taken to refer to silversmiths as such.[158] The same must be said of the 'Ateius vascularius' of *EE* VIII, 487. Some, indeed, may have combined the occupations of jeweller and banker, as did the Pompeian banker L. Caecilius Iucundus. It is not easy to assess the output of such an industry, or for how long it continued to flourish; doubtless some of the precious vessels discovered in Pompeii are of local manufacture, yet not a few other centres in the Roman world may have produced many like them.[159]

The importance of Capua's agricultural wealth is abundantly attested by ancient writers. What evidence can be adduced to illustrate the nature of Capuan agriculture? The lists of magistri do not throw much direct light on the matter; they do, to be sure, mention such trades as the *pistor*, *lanio*, and *stabularius*, which were to be expected in any community of comparable size.[160] A more vivid touch is supplied by certain of the sepulchral stelae which occasionally preserve information in their sculptured motifs. The stele, for instance, of L. Annius C.C.l. Servius shows three pigs in a row on the small subsidiary panel; although, as has been pointed out, the pig or sow often appears as a sacrificial symbol, the usual victim in many primitive Italic cults, the portrayal of three is unusual, and on the grounds of analogy with other monuments probably refers to the profession of the deceased as a *porcinarius* or seller of pork.[161] Less ambiguous is another stele, wherein five animals—two pigs, two sheep and a ram—are shown in procession on the lower panel, together with a butcher's knife.[162] A third uninscribed stele represents a sheep in the pediment of the stone, perhaps alluding to the owner's livelihood as a shepherd.[163] Campania's production of meat was at all times not an inconsiderable constituent of the Roman market; at a later date, a citizen of Misenum is attested at Rome, a 'negotiator celeberrimus suariae et pecuariae,' distributing the products of Campanian farmers.[164] Finally, a stele of the late Republican period (pl. XXI, *d*) shows a scene which was probably connected with the production of oil; a slave draws off into a bucket some oil from a large vat, a small scene in which the owner wished to commemorate his activities while living.[165]

The records of individual freedmen afford some glimpse into the variety of activity which Capuan agriculture normally relied upon, but do not in themselves suffice to illuminate its organisation. For this the chief evidence must be sought elsewhere, and is by now common knowledge. At Pompeii, the indications of archaeological finds show clearly that the organisation of specialist farming, and the emergence of the surburban villa that was part residence and part warehouse or factory, were both well under way by the second century B.C. Further north, where Campania merges into southern Latium, which by geography and communications were dependent upon Capua as a focal centre, the written treatise of the elder Cato affords an invaluable glimpse of developments. The conclusion is generally agreed that in the large area which embraced Campania and many other

[158] *CIL* X, 3793, 3877.

[159] Cf. A. Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro* (1933), pp. 241–243. For Rome, H. Loane, *Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome*, pp. 90–92. Tarentum, P. Wuillemier, *Le Tresor de Tarente*, pp. 67–68.

[160] Lists 8, 11, 20. *CIL* X, 3954.

[161] *CIL* X, 4011, Forti I, no. 12, tav. v, 14. Cf. the *suarius* shown in Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist.*, pl. iii, 1.

[162] *CIL* X, 4370 = Forti I, 2; tav. ii, fig. 5.

[163] Forti II, p. 315.

[164] *CIL* VI, 33887.

[165] *Not. Scav.* 1943, pp. 140–143.

of the more fertile tracts of central Italy, the normal system of exploitation was not the simple peasant or subsistence economy, but that of the considerable estate. These estates, unlike the more typical *latifundia* of pastoral nature, were intensively cultivated and, on the whole, moderate in size; and while aiming at a fair degree of self-sufficiency, concentrated on the specialised production of commodities, relying upon a supply of slave labour, freedmen's skills, and of seasonal free labour. That this evolution preceded direct Roman intervention is established for the Southern Campanian towns like Pompeii, and is in any case likely to have been a spontaneous occurrence in an area fertile in natural resources, within easy reach of the sea, and exposed to the contagion of Hellenistic methods. Archaeological finds have recently revealed the extent, from the mid-second century B.C. onwards, of the Campanian export of wine and oil; the amphorae have been identified in such diverse regions as Carthage, Spain, Gaul, Liguria, and even the Greek East.[166] Ancient writers refer frequently to the excellence of Campanian wines and oil, the specialist crops of Italy in antiquity. Yet the references are often deplorably unspecific and difficult to localise; and it is true that the highest reputations were commonly assigned to vinyards such as the Falernian or Venafran, which lay beyond the ager Campanus proper, though within the later more extended 'Campania.'[167] It is nevertheless plain that Capua later produced a variety of wine perhaps not for common consumption, of which the containers have been found in Pompeii; and at an earlier date Polybius had mentioned an unparalleled wine of Capua, produced from vines trained upon trees.[168] Yet, even apart from the inevitable industrial developments that would result from the production of wine and oil within the boundaries of Capua itself, all the products of a large surrounding region were doubtless transported thither to take the road to Puteoli and the sea.

The clearest evidence of industrialisation in Capua, or of those ancient phenomena which are conveniently covered by that term, remains to be considered. The texts that have survived from the Republican period have preserved an abundance of evidence concerning the lower ranks of the population—slaves, freedmen, or the modest free man. The absence of the more significant or powerful citizens is a matter which will be considered later; for the moment, despite all the attendant uncertainties in considering the names of plebeian and poorer classes, some inferences about the population here represented seem permissible. The strong elements of freedmen and slaves in both agriculture and secondary manufacturing is an ubiquitous fact of Roman life. The exploitation of numerous *familiae* of freedmen in industry may be seen, for instance, in the tile-making interests of Rome, and is nowhere better illustrated than in the Capuan bronze-working, as has been suggested above. For the presence of a servile and freed population in a predominantly agricultural area, the examples are to hand of Pompeii or—nearer in place and time—the magistri-lists of Minturnae which confirm and illustrate the landholding in that area.[169]

In the servile nomenclature found at Capua, certain fluctuations are visible,

[166] Among an extensive literature, see especially the studies of N. Lamboglia and F. Benoit in *Riv. Stud. Lig.*, vols. xviii and xxi, and in *Gallia*, xii. For the East, Hatzfeld, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xxxvi, 158–159.

[167] For texts, Heurgon, pp. 12–14.

[168] Pol. 34, 11, 1. *CIL* IV, 2833 Καπυανός; cf. 2826, 5555.

[169] J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae*, Vol. ii, pp. 49–113.

for within the relevant limits of time there were changes in the accepted forms. Thus, in the case of *liberti*, the earliest texts available do not always record the servile *cognomen*; and from the lists of magistri it may be seen that, as early as 106 B.C., differentiation takes the form either of an abbreviated servile name or an indication of profession (e.g. list 8); while by 94 B.C., the practise of indicating the servile *cognomen* of the freedman had become regular, as in lists 17, 18, 20.[170] The apparent regularity of the practise, once it was established, would suggest a substantially early date for the two stelae, *CIL* X, 4099 and 4402 (Forti II, nos. 20 and 15). Another unusual phenomenon, short-lived and confined to the late Republic and early Empire, is the appearance of two *cognomina* in a freedman's name, as in that of the lantern-maker M. Hordionius Philargurus Labeo.[171] The nomenclature of the slave is similarly varied. An archaic form is shown in the names of the *ministri Laribus* of 98 B.C.: *Pilemo Helvi(us) A(uli) s(ervus)*; a subsequent formation, which does not appear to have survived the fall of the Republic, is attested in the stele *CIL* X, 4014: *Anthus Suetti*.[172] Cases of a single Greek name, such as in *CIL* X, 3966 and 4111, are probably insignificant, being due either to careless inscribing or (possibly) the presence in Capua of Greek immigrants and *peregrini*.

Despite the minor variations, the inferences that are to be drawn from such nomenclature indicate the size and in some cases the nature of the *familia* of the owner. Among freedmen such *cognomina* as Princeps, Primus, Secundus, Tertius appear many times among the stelae, and are an indication that among certain *familiae* slaves were bred;[173] the same is shown by the mention of *vernae*, slaves born within the household.[174] There are many cases of freedmen erecting tombstones to fellow-freedmen, or slaves to fellow-slaves, a common occcurrence elsewhere. Further, it was a familiar maxim to the owners of large concerns to use many foreign slaves. 'Do not take on too many slaves of the same nation,' says Varro (*R.R.* 1, 17, 5) 'for that is the principal source of domestic quarrels.' Slaves from Greece and the Greek East will no doubt have predominated, as the names in general indicate: places of origin may be attested by such names as Alabanda (*CIL* X, 4297) or Laodicea (4322, 4350 = Forti I, nos. 10 and 5). Slaves from further east also arrived, mostly through the flourishing Syrian merchants of Delos: hence among the magistri such Semitic names appear as Malchio (list 27) and Sandon (23), among the stelae Aciba (4229), Barnaeus (3875, 4205, 4131), Dada (8227), Sabda (3875, 4245), Sabinna (4351), Salamio (3875), Surus (4174, 4266). On the other hand, Gentius (list 10) is doubtless Illyrian; Gallic or Celtic names are represented by Baccinis (stele 4008), Dato (Mazocchi, 171), and even Dacus (4030).[175] Many such foreigners may well have been introduced for other reasons than those suggested by Varro; and it is difficult to estimate how many nationalities have been disguised by the common habit of using Greek names.[176] The importance of Eastern trade for the most typical of Capua's manufactures, perfumery, may be partly responsible

[170] Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.*, iii, pp. 425–426. A. E. Gordon, *California Publ. in Class. Arch.*, i, 1935, pp. 151–158.

[171] *CIL* X, 3970 (cf. above, p. 110); 4149.

[172] A. Oxé, *Rhein. Mus.*, lix, 1904, p. 114, 128.

[173] Eight times among the stelae known to *CIL*; also Forti I, 22 (= Egbert, p. 287, no. 8); Forti II, 21 (= Mazocchi, 4).

[174] *CIL* X, 4053, 4411 (= Forti I, 21; II, 9), etc.

[175] Probably the earliest appearance of this *cognomen*; on Dacian slaves, see G. Mateescu, *Eph. Dacoromana*, i, 1923, pp. 74–76.

[176] Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–112. Spartacus's forces were mainly Gauls and Germans.

for the large Semitic element. The trade in slaves was without doubt brisk. One Capuan stele commemorates three slaves, all of them of Syrian or Semitic extraction, who describe themselves as *servi sociorum vicensimae libertatis* (*CIL* X, 3875 = Forti II, 13), that is, slaves of a society of *publicani* to whom the collection was allotted of the five-per-cent. tax on manumission. But that slaves were not only freed but sold in Capua is shown in what is perhaps the most famous of the stelae, that of *M. Publilius M.l. Satyr*; the main panel shows two full-length figures, and in the small panel beneath it is the scene of a slave being sold by a figure in Greek costume to another figure in a toga.[177] It has been suggested that the scene shows, in fact, the sale of M. Publilius Satyr himself as a young man; more likely is the explanation that he was engaged in the slave trade as the business associate of M. Publilius Cadia the *praeco*, who set the monument up and belonged to the same *familia*. The existence of a lively commerce in slaves may, in any case, be assumed on account of Capuan conditions at the time; and while it may serve to account for the large servile and freed population shown in the inscriptional evidence of the period, it is also not unwelcome testimony to the commercial importance of the city in its heyday.

Although the industrial potential of Capua depended to no small extent upon a numerous force of servile or freedman labour, it need hardly be thought that the city was entirely inhabited by them. Cicero, indeed, in opposing the colonial schemes of the tribune Servilius Rullus, refers in moving tones to the inhabitants of Campania who were threatened with ejection, as a 'plebs optima et modestissima, quod genus hominum optime moratum, optimorum et aratorum et militum' (*leg. agr.* 2, 84). At first sight, the evidence so far adduced does not perhaps conflict with Cicero's suggestion that the population of Capua was a modest and menial one, peasant farmers and soldiery. Cicero's theme, however, leads him into certain revealing inconsistencies. He portrays the Campanians as ever ready to relapse into their old and sinful habit of pride, as in the abortive colony of 83 B.C.; and it is surprising to discover that many of the first decurions of Caesar's colony were recruited locally from the previous inhabitants.[178] Furthermore, the evidence of large *familiae* of subservient labourers, the very presupposition of Roman industry, implies also the existence of the wealthy and powerful; if there are slaves and freedmen, there must also have been masters or patrons. Can these be established?

A large part of the nomenclature revealed by the existing material is the kind that leaves little scope for inference: there is an abundance of the commoner gentile names like Annius, Cornelius, Rubrius, Vettius, which are difficult to localise and exasperatingly undistinctive; many other names are spread over such a wide area that speculation about origins and localities becomes fruitless. With such names, little can be done. Many other families took their names from ordinary *praenomina* that were widely used by the Oscan peoples, and these names are therefore likely to occur indiscriminately throughout the areas where those peoples had once been dominant: hence a plethora of names like Decius, Novius, Ovius, Paccius, Statius, Vibius. Given the common use of these names, and the frequent repetition of free and servile *cognomina*, accidental coincidences and misleading similarities are bound

[177] Pl. XXI, *a*. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist.*, pl. ii, 2; H. Gummerus, *Klio*, xii, 1912 p. 500; B. Laum, *Germania*, ii, 1918, p. 108; Forti I, 20.

[178] Cic. *leg. agr.* 2, 92 and *Sest.* 9: eidem homines nomine commutato coloni decurionesque.

to occur. Further safeguards must be sought, if possible. Yet when all such reservations have been taken into account, the essential continuity of the Capuan population is clearly shown. From various sources, literary and epigraphic, the pattern of Capuan nomenclature in the earlier Samnite period may be reconstructed in some detail.[179] All the basic feature of the developed Roman system are already clearly in evidence: the earlier patronymic adjective has already yielded to the fixed gentile name, and the use of the full *tria nomina* is confirmed in both literary and inscriptional sources. Between the Oscan-speaking Capua and the Latin-speaking town of a century later, as the magistri-lists reveal, formal Roman influence on the form of the name seems to have been slight, being confined to the normalising of spelling and the eradication of the more outlandish *praenomina*.[180] Many of the commoner gentile names of Roman Capua patently descend directly from the earlier Oscan inhabitants: so with the names Blossius, Minatius, Helvius, Monnius, Ovius, Nasennius, Ofellius and many another. Others, even where direct testimony is lacking, are plainly indigenous on account of their typically Oscan linguistic pattern and their defined geographical distribution: so with Artorius, Brittius, Confuleius, Hordeonius, Pactumeius, Seius, Suettius. Such categories, however, do not entirely exhaust the full range of Capuan gentile names as they are known in the early Roman period. It is a familiar, and on the whole uncontestable, thesis that much of the formal nomenclature of Latin may be shown on etymological grounds to be of Etruscan origin; and while this is a cardinal fact for pre-history, for the following centuries it is becoming increasingly doubtful how much historical weight should be attached to this in individual instances.[181] With regard only to Campania, it is true, the Etruscan domination in the fifth century B.C. doubtless left traces in the subsequent population. A fifth-century bronze vase records, in Etruscan lettering, the *gens* Vinicia, who were in historical times a powerful family of Cales.[182] But even among their later Italic conquerors, many names appear for which an origin in the Etruscan sphere has been claimed. Oscan texts show the presence and in some cases the political pre-eminence of such families as the Carponii, Gargonii, Limbricii, Magulnii, Octavii, Pettii, Tantilii, all settled and active in Campania long before the Roman occupation.

Although the majority of gentile names observable in Capua may be confidently assumed to belong to the indigenous population, an element of Roman or Latin immigration cannot be denied, and its strength must therefore be assessed. The texts of the magistri, since they certainly fall before the Julian colony of 58 B.C., are of great value in this respect; the sepulchral stelae, by their very nature, offer less certainty, and may represent a population augmented by the colonising schemes of Caesar, Antony, or—in some cases—Octavian. But, representing as they do a specifically local fashion in burial monuments, it is uncertain how far they reflect the tastes of any outside *coloni* who might have settled in Capua. An example

[179] A convenient list will be found in Heurgon, p. 107; the Arrii must now be added, see E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, no. 73.

[180] Numerius, Decius, even Ovius still survive as *praenomina*; Gnaeus, though not Oscan, appears early, as in the poet, Cn. Naevius.

[181] W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen, passim.* For various reservations in detail, which would modify certain historical applications of his views, see H. Last, *CAH*, vii, p. 382. Recently, G. Bonfante, *Mél. Marouzeau*, 1948, pp. 43–59. E. Vetter, *Oest. Jahresh.*, xxxvii, 1948, Beibl. 56–112.

[182] Heurgon, pp. 101–102.

may be quoted: in the two monuments to the soldiers of Caesar's seventh legion, that of M. Britius Sp. f. is a Campanian stele, which reveals in the name and formulae employed the local origin of this soldier;[183] while that of the brothers Canuleii is an unadorned slab in the Roman style—rightly, for the name is not attested locally and he is therefore probably an immigrant. The names upon the stelae overlap to a large extent with those of the magistri lists; the nomenclature is largely Oscan, and where unexpected names occur, these are not most plausibly explained as Roman immigrants. Such cases as *Sacratoria Laudica* (*CIL* X, 4322 = Forti I, no. 10) are freakish in both local and Roman systems of names.[184] Indeed, Roman families will not have been tempted to settle permanently in a city such as Capua with its political disabilities; at the most, some may have had representatives there for trade and commerce. The foundation of the colonies of Puteoli, Volturnum and Liternum in 194 B.C. introduced both Roman and Latin settlers into immediately adjacent cities.[185] Such may be the case with C. Tiburtius C.l. (list 23), surely from Tibur; other geographical names point to origins within the Campanian region, thus P. Suessanus (list 10) or N. Vesvius (list 24); while the presence of the Pomponii may doubtless be connected with the powerful trading family of Atina.[186] Whatever the possibilities, there seems to be no reason to question the substantial continuity of Campanian families from pre-Roman times into the later Republic.

In 211 B.C., the terms delivered to the Campanians did not envisage anything like a total extermination, but punishment was meted out to those noble families who had been chiefly responsible for the defection to Hannibal. Some were killed outright; others were distributed to various Latin towns for custody; a later senatorial decree recommended severer terms and an extensive evacuation of the old population, but it is clear that this was never carried out.[187] Whether by choice or compulsion, many of the families of ancient Capua fled or retired to neighbouring towns. A maternal ancestor of the historian Velleius Paterculus had belonged to the ancient Capuan family of the Magii; later they are found settled in Aeclanum, whence his mother's family drew their origin, the Minati Magii.[188] Others, no doubt discouraged by prospects at home, left Italy altogether to seek a fortune in the provinces; the son of such a one may be recorded in Greece, fighting for the Achaeans against Rome;[189] many others now sought trade in other parts of the Mediterranean. Of all families of ancient Capua, the Blossii were a byword for arrogance and luxury.[190] A later Blossius, famous as an adviser of Tiberius Gracchus in his agrarian schemes, derived from Cumae, where it has been suggested that his ancestors had migrated after Capua's defeat, possibly among the three hundred Capuan knights who were settled there.[191] Yet another appears as guarantor and builder in a building contract at Puteoli in 105 B.C.; while their interests in Capua itself do not seem to have suffered neglect, for the name is present among the magistri.[192] Other members of the three hundred knights will be the Minati Staii on Delos, who describe

[183] *CIL* X, 3886 and 3884. Other Brittii, *CIL* X, 4047–9, and Egbert, p. 287, no. 8 (all stelae).

[184] On the formation of this name, Schulze *op. cit.*, p. 108. A connection with M. Sacrativir, a Capuan knight (Caes. *bell. civ.* 3, 71) seems irresistible; Münzer's suspicions (P-W IA, 1674) are gratuitous, for the stone survives.

[185] Livy, 32, 29; 34, 42 and 45.

[186] Lists 1, 3, 9; Hatzfeld, p. 69.

[187] Livy, 26, 16, 6–12; 33, 10–34, 12.

[188] Vell. Pat. 2, 16, 2; P-W VIIA, 638.

[189] *IG*², IV, 1, 28, 1.104.

[190] Livy, 23, 7, 8; 27, 3, 4. Cic. *leg. agr.* 2, 93. Conway, no. 109.

[191] D. R. Dudley, *JRS*, xxxi, 1941, pp. 94–96.

[192] *CIL* X, 1781 = *ILS* 5317. Lists 17, 23.

themselves as *Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ Κύμης* though the name is a fairly common Oscan one.[193] Another possibility is the family of the Numisii, early attested in Capua upon two stelae; later, it is clear, their chief branch lay in Puteoli, where a group of tombs commemorated them; and several architects of that name flourished in the same region.[194] A yet clearer instance is that of the *gens Cluvia*; their presence in independent Capua is fully recorded; thereafter they moved astutely to Puteoli, where they were known to Cicero as energetic and wealthy merchants in Asia Minor and elsewhere; and one of the same family, who was later buried in Puteoli, yet returned to Capua to hold one of its first municipal offices.[195]

The connections in commerce of many Capuan families were doubtless extensive. Among families represented in strength in Capua, those that participate in trade are prominent; and Campania, through its harbours, benefited from the vigorous development in Eastern markets. Capua, indeed, can boast a college of *mercatores* in 112 B.C. and later inscriptional evidence makes plain that her citizens were still actively engaged in commerce and trade.[196] The trading families of Delos doubtless included many with Capuan interests. Few of them, indeed, admit to an origin in Capua itself, although many neighbouring towns of unimpaired status are so named—Caiatia, Cumae and Naples. From names alone, it is rarely possible to prove a connection. The trader in wine, whose amphorae are widely distributed, Trebius Loisius, bears a rare name which is otherwise known in the earlier days of Capua's independence.[197] Trading interests are doubtless represented in the family of the Pactumeii, one of the most widespread families of the Greek East; they are firmly established at Capua, among the magistri and the early stelae.[198] The early Capuan evidence for the family of the Aufustii suggests that they, too, should be localised in Campania: they participate in trade, and produced a senator in the Republican period.[199] Among purely epigraphic material, positive identification is uncommon, but cases nevertheless exist: those of the Capuan L. Plotius L.l. Philippus, of the freedmen of the Novii and the Tullii, have been noted already. It is enough to observe, however, how many gentile names appear in both Capua and Delos, not only among the common but also of the rarer type, in order to infer that many Campanians found in overseas trade a profitable occupation.

The ambiguities of purely inscriptional testimony may, however, be substantiated from the information contained in Cicero's correspondence. The orator had estates in Puteoli and in Pompeii, and had many friends among the commercial gentry; as might be expected, his connections with those of Campania were close and of long standing. His defence, furthermore, of Capuan interests against threats from various quarters was vigorous and prompt, and it need not be thought surprising if his circle of acquaintances and clients included many from this region. From nearby Cales (a town he favoured in other ways) came Q. Lepta, the man who served Cicero as *praefectus fabrum* in Cilicia and whose interests he elsewhere

[193] Hatzfeld, p. 80.

[194] *CIL* I², 1595, X 4249. At Puteoli, *CIL* X, 1935–40. Cf. also Cic. *Q. fr.* 2, 2, 1. *CIL* X, 1443, 1446 (Herculaneum).

[195] Livy, 26, 33, 8 and cf. Heurgon, p. 110; for the references to Cicero's letters, P-W IV 120–121; for N. Cluvius M'.f., IVvir of Capua, *CIL* I², 1620.

[196] A *navigator* in *CIL* X, 3804 (6 B.C.); a nameless sea-captain in X, 3813: 'votum in Siculo fretu susceptum solvit.'

[197] Livy, 26, 6, 13; cf. Dessau, *Hermes*, xvii, pp. 153–156.

[198] Lists 9, 23; *CIL* X, 4294; Hatzfeld, p. 64.

[199] Plin. *n.h.* 7, 181. List 17; *CIL* X, 4028, and frequently elsewhere.

championed; though his family name has unfortunately not been preserved.[200] In a letter to Dolabella, Cicero urged the case of two of Lepta's fellow-townsmen, C. Subernius and M. Planius Heres; the writer apologises that the wealth of the former is 'valde exigua'; but the latter, whose fortune is 'vix equestris,' was perhaps a landowner of moderate means and has left a trace of freedmen in the area.[201] From Atella came M. Orfius, an *eques Romanus*, whom Cicero commended to his brother in 54 B.C.; his name recurs in the contemporary inscriptions of Capua, and the family reached back to the pre-Roman period.[202] Richer and more obscure is the P. Asicius, implicated along with Caelius in the murder of an Alexandrian ambassador at Puteoli in 55 B.C., for whom Cicero delivered a speech in the defence; the rare name recurs among the Capuan magistri.[203] The orator was on intimate terms with the Cluvii, a Capuan family who had moved into respectability at Puteoli, and borrowed money from them; on the death of M. Cluvius, Cicero was one of the heirs who included also the henchman of Caesar, Cornelius Balbus; the latter was represented throughout by the wealthy *parfumier* L. Plotius and a certain T. Hordeonius, while Ofillius was charged with executing the will.[204] Like the Cluvii, Hordeonius was ultimately of Capuan extraction, as may be inferred from the abundant presence of that name in the early Republican evidence; they had commitments in Delos, where they contributed to the Agora in 88 B.C., and were involved, we cannot say how actively, in the bronze industries.[205] Likewise the Ofillius mentioned here, a man known elsewhere as an eminent jurist and pupil of Servius Sulpicius Rufus; the man is surely Capuan: the name appears four times in the period of Oscan Capua, and occurs freely in the early Latin epigraphy; and like other Capuan families, its freedmen appear on Delos.[206] A certain suspicion attaches to the well-known Augustan jurist, Pacuvius Antistius Labeo, possessor of a rare combination of Oscan names, all of them frequent in Capua though not indeed confined to it; yet that the Antistii were a power in Capua is shown by the long funerary inscription that tells the honours of L. Antistius Campanus, a military man of a local family; upon his services both Caesar and Augustus had relied in the installation of their colonies.[207] Such families as these, drawing their wealth from semi-specialised agriculture, industry and trade, controlled and exploited by freedmen, could achieve the social respectability of an equestrian census and thereby gain influential friends and contacts.

In an earlier and more fortunate age, the aristocracy of Capua had been able to boast marriage connections with the most eminent Roman families, and in due course had even achieved the consulate.[208] But the political disgrace of Campania in the Second Punic War may be presumed to have closed the door to further honours for the old nobility. Indeed, in the century and a half after 211 B.C.

[200] Possibly Paconius, as Münzer P-W XII, 2071, adducing *ILS* 5779; the name otherwise leaves little trace in the area.

[201] Cic. *fam.* 9, 13. For Planii, *EE* VIII, 551 (stele from Cales); *CIL* X, 4289, from Capua.

[202] Cic. *Q. fr.* 2, 13, 3; Conway, 133. In *CIL* I², 1597, M. Orfius M.f. Fal. is doubtless Cicero's friend.

[203] Cic. *Cael.* 23; *Q. fr.* 2, 8, 2. Tac. *dial.* 21. List 10.

[204] Cic. *Att.* 13, 37, 4; cf. 45 and 50. On Cluvius, cf. Att. 6, 2, 3. On Plotius, above p. 111.

[205] Hatzfeld, p. 44; Lists 2, 8, 11, 17; frequently among the stelae, *CIL* X, 4059, 4173–4175.

[206] Conway, 102, 113, 135; list 22; *CIL* X, 4095, 4260 (stelae). Cf. Hatzfeld, p. 58; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung*, pp. 29–30.

[207] Local, as the *cognomen* shows, *CIL* X, 3903; and the stele X, 4381. The words 'deductus in coloniam' are formulaic. Cf. Kunkel, pp. 32–33.

[208] Livy 23, 2, 6, and Heurgon, chs. xii and xiii.

there are no certain cases of the higher honours falling to families who cared to boast a Campanian origin. A military career was by no means excluded; and in 63 B.C. Cicero specially commended the inhabitants of the *ager Campanus* as a source of recruitment. These have left their traces in the M. Britius, the freedman's son, who was enrolled in 44 by Octavian; and in L. Antistius Campanus who served 'per gravissima et periculosissima bella' and was rewarded by Caesar and Augustus with a prominent position in his native town. Almost certainly of a local family was the Capuan *eques* M. Sacrativir (if that be his name) who is found serving under Caesar.[209] Noteworthy, furthermore, is the C. Nasennius, a citizen of Suessa, whom Cicero commended to Brutus as a 'fortem virum, et, si quid ad rem pertinet, etiam locupletem'; he may well be connected with the Capuan *gens* of that name, which for all its Etruscan features was of long standing in the city.[210] Higher political honours were rarer, or perhaps they are more difficult to detect. The name of the Magii is perhaps too widely dispersed in occurrence to permit revealing conclusions.[211] A certain Cn. Nerius appears in Cicero's correspondence, and achieved the quaestorship in 49 B.C., when he must have spent his office with the Pompeian forces in his native town.[212] A similar case from a town nearby is Q. Fufius Calenus, tribune in 61 B.C. and later Caesarian. Cicero's friend, L. Ninnius Quadratus, the tribune of 57 B.C., is assuredly Campanian, probably from Capua, though Pompeii is a possibility.[213] When the forces of Pompey established themselves in Capua in 49 B.C., Cicero's letters contain, among other interesting items, references to the ex-praetor T. Ampius Balbus, who was charged with levying troops in the area; his family is almost certainly Capuan in origin.[214] Thus Capua, like many other cities, produced under the late Republic citizens of a comfortable equestrian dignity or, at most, praetorian rank; and though Campanian consulars are not easy to discover or to certify, this is a disadvantage which Capua will have shared with many another area of Italy before the time of Augustus.

The problem of determining accurately the origins of families within the Campanian sphere is complicated by two main factors. One is that which has been considered above: disgraced families may not have cared to recall their ancestry in the Republican period; some emigrated from Capua, not wishing in any case to remain under its political disabilities; some are found to be established in more than one city. A second must now be considered, the intrusion from outside of foreign families. Few politically eminent men would be attracted to settle in Capua, in its politically disabled condition; a few names of presumed immigrants may be detected in the lists of magistri. A more important factor was the enthusiasm shown by the Roman aristocracy for villas and fishponds along the luxurious Campanian coast, of which the earliest known examples refer to the mid-second century B.C.;[215] yet in the course of time, and with the gradually intensifying economic activity of Campania as a whole, more extensive holdings would be acquired

[209] Cf. above, n. 184.

[210] Cic *ad Brut.* 1.16. Conway, 112; list 23; *CIL* X, 3998, 4173.

[211] P-W, *s.v.* 'Magius.'

[212] Cic. *Q. fr.* 2, 3, 5. Lists 3, 10, 24. A suffect consul of that name in 36 B.C. has been exploded.

[213] Dio, 38, 14. Cic. *Att.* 3, 23, 4; 10, 16, 4 'Ninnius noster.' In Capua, Conway, 123; Livy, 23, 8, 1. In Pompeii, texts in M. Della Corte, *Case ed abitanti*, p. 126.

[214] Cic. *Att.* 8, 11b, 2; *fam.* 2, 16, 3, *CIL* X, 4005 (a stele?); the name appears also on Delos. Cf. E. Pais, *Ricerche*, iii, p. 20.

[215] Scipio Africanus, Sen. *epist.* 86, 11; Cornelia, Plut. *C. Gracch.* 19, 2, etc.

by owners whose time and energies were chiefly expended in Rome. The evidence of Cicero's own acquisitions, actual or intended, shows how great was the desirability of possessions in the area. Already possessed of villas at Pompeii and Cumae, rentable property at Puteoli and a *diversorium* at Sinuessa, Cicero at various times considered buying the estate of Hortensius in Puteoli, the villa of Q. Selicius, a wealthy banker, in the neighbourhood of Naples or Puteoli; and a house near Cumae that had belonged to Faustus Sulla.[216] Further, he was bequeathed, but later sold, a share in the estates of Precianus the jurist, probably near Naples; and in the properties of a certain Brinnius, which lay somewhere near Puteoli.[217] Indeed, agricultural holdings of the kind, cultivated by bailiffs for landlords only rarely resident, are known at Pompeii and were a familiar feature of the *ager Falernus*;[218] so too in the Capuan territory such plots will have been cultivated in complement to the residential palaces of the coastline. The effect is largely the same as that predicted by Cicero as the consequence of Rullus' agrarian proposals: the beneficiaries of his scheme will exploit the plots of land they acquire in Capua to live in luxury at Cumae or Puteoli.[219] It can hardly be doubted that Cicero has specific instances of the procedure in mind, and he was, in fact, on friendly terms with families like the Cluvii, who lived in Puteoli while retaining a hold upon their interests in Capua itself; and in general its very position was such as to encourage its development as a commercial and agricultural appendage to the coastal towns that were so closely linked to it, the pleasure resorts of the wealthy. Aristocratic interests may, indeed, be detected at Capua. There is casual mention of the wealthy Roman knight, T. Vettius, whose improprieties caused a rebellion of slaves in the town in 104 B.C.[220] A certain Cn. Lentulus Vatia owned the school of gladiators where the revolt of Spartacus took its origin.[221] The family of the Atilii, though long established in Rome, kept up their connections with their native city.[222] The freedmen of a certain Fulvia appear in the magistri-lists towards the end of the second century; this can hardly be other than the daughter of Flaccus, the Gracchan partisan, of a family whose conspicuous interests in Campania were established in 211 B.C. by the conqueror of Capua, Q. Fulvius Flaccus.[223] Even before the first century B.C., it is clear that landed property in the area was changing hands by the normal processes of buying; towards the end of the Republic, other factors contributed—the settlement of veterans, or the revolutionary seizure of estates.[224] By the time of the late Republic and early Empire, alongside local families many of whom retained their preponderance, Roman families and even provincials may be noted, some of whom had established themselves some time

[216] On Hortensius' holdings, Cic. *Att.* 7, 3, 9. On Q. Selicius, *fam.* 9, 16, 10; 1, 5, 3. On the 'domus Sullana,' *fam.* 9, 15, 5.

[217] On Precianus, *fam.* 7, 8, 2; *Att.* 6, 9, 2; *ILS* 946. For Brinnius, *Att.* 13, 50, 2, cf. 13, 12, 4, etc. The name is rare but recurrent in Puteoli, *CIL* X, 1987, 2174–2176.

[218] *E.g.* Hor. *epod.* 4, 13. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist.*, p. 22.

[219] Cic. *leg. agr.* 2, 78: 'neque istorum pecuniis quicquam aliud deesse video nisi eius modi fundos quorum subsidio familiarum magnitudines et Cumanorum ac Puteolanorum praediorum sumptus sustentare possint.'

[220] Diod. 36, 2, 2a.

[221] Plut. *Crass.* 8; cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 2, 3, 5.

[222] Heurgon, pp. 285–294.

[223] 'Q. Fulvius Fulviae l.' in list 9, with two more in list 10. *CIL* X, 3968. Constructions in the temple of Diana by Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, cos. 135 B.C., *CIL* I², 635. Probably therefore also a Flaccus is the 'Q. Folvius Q.f.M.n.' of *CIL* I², 825 (Caiatia). Cp. Livy 26, 33, 4. Val. Max. 2, 7, 15. A persistent connection with the Atilii will be noted.

[224] At Naples in 44 B.C., Papirius Paetus feared confiscation and a fall in land values, Cic. *fam.* 9, 16; cf. 17, 1 and 20, 1.

before. The Coelii Caldi, descendants of the consul of 94 B.C., are found resident in Pompeii;[225] at Puteoli, the Celtic name Brinnius attests an early immigrant;[226] and in Capua itself, there were the interests of the Spanish provincial, L. Cornelius Balbus.[227] Throughout the period a transfer of wealth in Campania is to be seen in numerous particular instances; and it cannot always be clear, without further evidence, that a family resident in Campania is of indigenous extraction rather than an element of this surprisingly early Roman or foreign intrusion.

Numerous as these non-Campanian residents may have been, it is more important to consider whether this element, consisting principally of villa owners or the representatives of commercial families, were influential in extending Roman habits and customs. How far, it may be asked, did Campania, with its uncertain status and close economic nexus with Rome, suffer a real subjection? The answer, which has been implicit in the earlier parts of this study, must be to minimise the degree of direct Roman control. In the comparatively large body of inscriptional evidence from Capua itself, the substantial continuity of nomenclature is evident from Oscan times onwards. The inscriptions of the Campanian magistri, datable with exactness, are of primary importance in revealing that not all of the resident population was subservient or menial, a fact which literary evidence confirms. Such indications of continuity are further strengthened by the sepulchral stelae; these offer an invaluable glimpse into the activities of a population not, indeed, pre-eminent in wealth but possessed of its own traditions and some degree of professional pride. The stelae illustrate the pertinacity of tradition not only in their form, which is descended directly from the similar stelae of Oscan times, but also in their names, which show the presence of many families that had flourished in Capua before the Second Punic War and were still active in the area, maintaining their commercial interests even where they had moved their residence.

Yet it is not from nomenclature alone that the permanence and vitality of Capuan traditions is to be derived. The administration of Capua in the years after 211 B.C. may well have been grafted on to pre-existing native forms of association. Although the town was formally subject to Rome in its jurisdiction, in the absence of municipal franchise and in its technical status as property of the Roman people, it can nevertheless show an administrative development of some maturity. That the local evolution of the city was continuous and without direct Roman intervention is overwhelmingly suggested; and the occasional references to Capua, made in the heat of political controversies, would seem only imperfectly to mirror the reality. It is striking, indeed, how little trace, whether archaeological or inscriptional, there remains of the insurrection of slaves in 104 B.C., the abortive Marian colony of 83, the revolt of Spartacus in 74, or even of Caesar's colony of 58. The erasure of certain names in the records of the magistri may possibly reflect political unrest, though the case that this is so remains unproven.[228] More conclusive is the probability that the civic prosperity revealed in these records was a spontaneous one and owed little or nothing to Roman initiative. In their energetic building, the activity of

[225] Della Corte, *Case ed abitanti*, p. 190.
[226] Above, n. 217.
[227] *CIL* X, 3854. Suet. *Caes.* 81.
[228] All twelve names are cancelled in list 12, for reasons unknown; while the date of list 19 (74 B.C.) makes a *damnatio memoriae* unlikely—the names were perhaps obliterated in the later rebuildings of Diana's temple.

the Campanian magistri reflects merely the general period of prosperity that preceded the Social War, that period which produced a flourish of building in many Italian cities and which saw also the ambitious replanning of the central buildings in Pompeii.[229] The later colonies of Caesar and Augustus do not seem to have affected the foundations of this local well-being; certainly it is clear that the chief municipal offices fell, not to any new *adscripti*, but to the Antistii, Bivellii, Cluvii, Helvii, local families of long standing in the area.[230]

Both in its political structure and its economic life, therefore, the essential permanence of Campanian conditions is revealed. Furthermore, certain similarities between Capua and the better attested centre of Pompeii can be explained only by a degree of economic independence. It is not only in their public buildings that the two towns would seem to resemble one another. Domestic architecture is imperfectly represented in Capua, but it is certain from discovered remains that the prevalent style of building in the Tufa Period was the domus of Pompeian type, on occasion of some pretension.[231] Nor is there any reason to suppose that any great change was effected in agriculture after the Romans defeated Capua; the fertile plain of Campania was dotted with small agricultural settlements in later periods as in earlier ones; and it seems clear that the typical form of exploitation was of the pattern most familiarly known at Pompeii or in the treatise of the Elder Cato. Much of it was in the hands of owners who might not be resident, preferring to administer their possessions through bailiffs and to cultivate them by servile or tenant labour. The same features appear early, also, in the industrial activities of Capua, with its specialised occupations and considerable *familiae* of freedmen. It has been suggested that many of the industrial products of later Capua praised by ancient writers had begun to be produced in the Oscan city of the fourth and third centuries B.C. Certainly, many of the more luxurious elements of Campanian life were carried over into the Roman period. The buildings of the city, many of which had survived unscathed from the earlier period, might arouse the envy or criticism of outsiders.[232] Capua continued its traditions also as a centre for the training and maintenance of gladiators.[233] How much the Romans learnt from Campania in the more constructive arts of intensive agriculture and industry, it is not easy to estimate; but it is no accident that this region, with its close connections with Rome and with the Greek East, should have developed the tendencies which were to become more manifest everywhere in later centuries. Indirectly, no doubt, such tendencies were intensified in the last century of the Republic, when Rome came to depend upon the produce of Campania and the trade which passed through its ports, and when the coastline became a fashionable residential area for Roman society. Although such factors may well have encouraged a demand for Capua's more specialised products, to the benefit of local inhabitants, the prosperity of Campania in the second and first centuries B.C. was without doubt more deeply rooted, and was at Capua, as at Pompeii, a phenomenon which owed little to direct Roman incentive.

[229] For some texts, E. Gabba, *Athen.*, xxvii, 1954, pp. 58–59. For Pompeii, see H. Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien*; A. Sogliano, *Pompei preromana*.

[230] The texts are listed in *CIL* X, p. 1142.

[231] Examples: *Bull. Arch. Nap.*, iv, 1885, p. 50; *Not. Scav.* 1952, pp. 301–307; 1956, pp. 65–79.

[232] Livy, 31, 31, 15; Cic. *leg. agr.* 2, 96.

[233] Livy, 9, 40, 17; Cic. *Att.* 7, 14; Hist. Aug. *Did. Iul.*, 8, 3.

The factors upon which Capuan prosperity under the Republic rested were, for a number of reasons, not destined to be long-lived. It is beyond the present purpose to pursue in detail the story of Capua's decline and later resurgence at the end of antiquity; but the developments of the Imperial age are not irrelevant to the understanding of the causes of decline. If the sepulchral stelae, as has been argued, did not survive much beyond the founding of the Principate, it is also true that the population, whose status and occupations they illustrate, cannot have lasted much longer. Under the Empire there is a gradual decline of the local middle class of landowners of the type familiar in Pompeii, and the development of a new kind of proprietor, luxurious, city-dwelling and economically parasitic.[234] A transient prosperity may be detected at Capua in the Augustan age, and for some decades thereafter traces continue of the city's typical manufactures; but it is also clear that provincial centres of bronze-working, of unguents and of textiles had begun to undermine her position. A sharp decrease in Capua's condition is visible in the first two centuries of the Empire. An infusion of colonists was necessary under Nero;[235] the industries and signs of wealth are now to be found rather in the neighbouring harbour-town of Puteoli, which in the early Flavian period was granted as its territory almost half of the extensive *ager Campanus*, hitherto the preserve of Capua alone;[236] finally, in A.D. 95, the Via Domitiana was built from Sinuessa direct to Puteoli and Naples, thereby depriving Capua of its richest remaining source of profit, the traffic between Rome and the Campanian harbours.[237] A temporary resurgence under Hadrian, the result of the emperor's own generosities, did little to arrest the decline. The expansion of economic boundaries that occurred with the Imperial peace threw emphasis upon the arteries of overseas trade, upon Rome itself and the port of Puteoli. When in later antiquity insecurity increased, and the Campanian harbours no longer performed their earlier functions, Capua's pre-eminence, by a natural counter-action, was restored.

Although the economic significance of Capua was, therefore, essentially regional rather than international, there can be no doubt of the city's importance in the Republican and early Imperial periods, before Roman markets became dependent upon provincial supplies. The comparatively abundant evidence for this early period, which it has been the intention of this study to examine, reflects the considerable role played by Campanian resources and commercial activities in the life of Rome. That the Campanian cities in general, Roman and allied, profited greatly from the expansion of Roman power in the second century B.C. is becoming more fully understood. Capua, for a number of reasons, illustrates most clearly the involvement of the region in the Roman economic sphere; yet even in the Southern Campanian towns, in many ways a discrete group which retained more tenaciously their traces of provincialism, the same prosperity may be detected. Direct Roman influence, whether official or unofficial, was slighter than might be supposed. The Romans, indeed, are found establishing themselves in Campania, by direct purchase of estates or in the mediate forms of influence and exploitation by freedmen, clients, or political adherents. But the wealth of Campania at this time, unaffected by

[234] Cf. Statius' lines on Pollius Felix, *Silv.* 2, 2, 151–155.

[235] Tac. *ann.* 13, 31, 2.

[236] Cf. above, n. 7.

[237] Dio, 67, 14; Stat. *Silv.* 4, 3. *Not. Scav.* 1928, pp. 181–186.

Roman control even though catering for Roman demands, was primarily based upon the presence of the local families who were its chief authors, and upon a persistence of long-matured regional traditions; and the effect of Roman landlords or partial residents was clearly insufficient to bring to an end this autonomous prosperity. It is, indeed, striking that the conservative elements of local tradition in Campania in general fell short of encouraging coherent political attitudes. The reasons were various: though many Campanians might achieve moderate wealth and even political office, the conditions did not favour the emergence of dynastic families which might command the allegiance of a town or a region, as in less developed parts of Italy; Campania's own traditions were too strong, her connections with Rome too close and too long established, the forms of influence more devious. As one important aspect of the Romanisation that was occurring throughout Italy, the economic process is here at its clearest. Only when Capua finally lost its favoured position, and the strength of local custom was extinguished, might the process of Romanisation be said to be completed.

M. W. Frederiksen.

APPENDIX

The Records of the Campanian Magistri

1. *CIL* I², 672 = X, 3773 = *ILS* 7274.

. . . . . .
. . . . . nul . . . .
Cn.Minati C.l.
P.Pomponi M.l.
magistreis
conlegi
mercatorum
coeraverunt
. . . . . .
. . . Calpurnio
cos 112 or 111 B.C.

2. *CIL* I², 673 = X, 3774.

]cius P.l. Pilor
]ethius Ser. l.
]cumius M.l.
]rdioni M.l.
]ruius P.l.
]ius P.C.l.
muru]m et pilas IIII
]Calpurnio cos 112 or 111 B.C.

3. *CIL* I², 674 = X, 3775 = *ILS* 3770

. . . fe.us M. . s.c.
C.Maius N.f.
].V.f. M.Vibius M.f. Ru.
. . Corneli.L.f.Cori L. Pomponius L.f.F.
. . . Nerius M.f. L.Olienus L.f.
He]isc.mag. Spei Fidei Fortunae mur[um
faciundu coiravere M.Minu[cio
S.Postumio cos 110 B.C.

4. *CIL* I², 675 = X, 3776

N.Pumidius Q.f. M.Raecius Q.f.
M.Cottius M.f. N.Arrius M.f.
M.Eppilius M.f. L.Heioleius P.f.
C.Antracius C.f. C.Tuccius C.f.
L. Sempronius L.f. Q.Vibius M.f.
P.Cicereius C.f. M.Valerius L.f.
Heisce magistreis Venerus Ioviae murum
aedificandum coiraverunt ped.CCLXX et
loidos fecerunt. Ser.Sulpicio M.Aurelio co[s] 108 B.C.

5. *CIL* I², 676 = *EE* VIII, 460

Duplicate copy of no. 4.

6. A. De Franciscis, *Epigraphica*, xii, 1950, pp. 124–130; *Ann. ép.* 1952, 55 (where it is not fully reproduced).

L.Quincti L.f. Gela L.Iuventi L.f. Ruf.
C.Tittius C.f. C.Helvius N.f.
L.Helvius L.f. C.Helvius N.f. Gero.
P. Plinius M.f. Q.Matuius Q.f.
C.Paccius Cn.f. M.Mamius M.f.
C.Sattius C.f. P.Statius P.f.Stag.
Heisce magistrei Iovei Optumo Maxsumo
murum coniungendum et peilam faciendam et teatrum
terra exaggerandum locavere eidemque luudos fecere.
Ser. Sulpicio Ser.f.Galba cos. 108 B.C.

7. A. De Franciscis, *Studi offerti a A. Calderini e R. Paribeni*, vol. iii, p. 353.

(A second copy of no. 6, lacking the last four lines.)

8. *CIL* I², 677 = X, 3779 = *ILS* 3340

Ser.Sueti Ser.l.Bal.	. . Babrius L.l.
P.Babrius L.l.	P.Servilius M.l.
M.Sexti N.M.l.	Cn.Octavi N.l.ves.
N.Sexti N.M.l.	M.Ocrati M.l.pist.
L.Hordioni L.l.Lab.	P.Statius P.M.l.
C.Lucretius C.l.Apul.	M.Mai M.l.Nic.
A.Gargonius Q.l.	

Heisce magistreis Cererus murum
et pluteum long.p.LXXX alt.p.XXI
faciund.coiravere eidemq.loid.fec.
C.Atilio Q.Servilio cos 106 B.C.

9. *CIL* I², 678 = X, 3778 = *ILS* 3397

T.Iunius N.f.	D.Rosci Q.l.lintio
C.Numolei Cn.f.	D.Iteius Cn.l.
M.Fisius M.f.	M.Valerius M.l.
M.Fufius L.f.	Q.Fulvius Fulviae l.
C. Tittius C.f.	P.Pactumeius C.l.
Q.Monnius N.f.	L.Pomponius C.l.

Heisce magistrei Castori et
Polluci murum et pluteum faciundu
coeravere eidemque loedos
fecere Q.Servilio C.Atilio cos 106 B.C.

10. A. De Franciscis, *Studi offerti a A. Calderini e R. Paribeni*, vol. iii, pp. 354–358.

L.Veicius L.f.	P.Baebius N.l.aerari
L.Fulvius Q.f.	C.Cossutius C.l.Gent.
M.Curtius C.f.	A.Fulvius Fulviae l.
L.Fuficius L.f.	L.Flavius Q.l.
N.Arrius A.f.	P.Cipius Cn.l.
N.Spurius D.f.	L.Nerius M.l.
T.Pescennius T.f.	Cn.Pescennius L.l.
M.Annius L.f.	P.Nerius P.l.
Q.Hostius Q.f.	C.Cipius C.l.Pera
C.Lucretius C.f.	C.Nerius M.l.
Ti.Asicius Ti.f.	P.Caesius M.l.
P.Suesanus M.f.	P.Servius N.l.purpur.

Mag.Castori et Polluci et Mercu[rio] Felici fornicem et
gradus supra fornicem omnis et[. . . . .]as sequndum
fornicem faciend.coer.eidemque lud [os fecer.] P.Rutil.Cn.Mal.cos.
105 B.C.

11. *CIL* I², 679 = X, 3780 = *ILS* 3341.

]nius L.f.	A.Seppius A.f.
]ius L.f.	C.Pompilius C.f.
]rtionius Cn.f.	N.Rubrius M.f.
]natius P.f.Gla.	Cn.Hortionius Cn.f.
]us Cn.f.E.	L.Annius L.f.F.
]ius M.f.	C.Obinius Cn.f.lanio

Heisce magistreis] Cererus murum et
pluteum? long.p. .]XII alt.XXII faciundum coiraver.
C.Fl]avio C.f. C.Mario C.f.cos 104 B.C.

12. *CIL* I², 680 = X, 3781 = *ILS* 5561

(five lines and two half-lines erased)
/ / / / / / / / M.Antonio
/ / / / / / / / A.Postumio cos. 99 B.C.
Heisce mag.murum ab grad
u ad calcidic.et calcidicum

et portic.ante culin.long.p. (*vac.*)
et signa marmor.Cast.et Pol.
et loc.privat.de stipe Dian.
emendum [et f]aciendum
coeraver.

13. *CIL* I², 681 = X, 3789 = *ILS* 3609.

Hisce ministris Laribus faciendum coe[raverunt

C.Terenti C.l.Pilomus	Lucrio Teren[ti s.]	Alexan[
Pilemo Helvi A.s.	Pilotaer.Hos[ti s.]	Nestor[
Helenus Hosti Q.s.	Pilomusus Sext.Cn.s.	Nae[
Pilotaerus Terenti Q.s.	Pilemo Baloni Balon.	Flac[
	Dipilus Sueti Suetiae s.	Nicepor[

Haec pondera et pavimentum faciendum et[. . . . .
Q.Caecilio Q.f.Q.n. T.Deidio T.f. co[s. . . . . 98 B.C.

14. *CIL* I², 686 = X, 3782 = *ILS* 5641

] N.f.faber	M.Fisius C.f.	M.Vibius P.[f.
]sius St.f.	M.Baibillius L.f.	Ti.Hostiu[s. . .

cu[ne]os duos in teatro faciendos coi[raver. before 94 B.C.

15. *CIL* I², 2506 = *Not. Scav.* 1921, p. 63.

. . . . epic	Q.Annius Q.l. Fe[
. . . . . pl	P.Bivellius T.l.
	P.Messius Q.l.
	C.Lusius C.l.
	P.Ovius P.l.Plut.
	C.Antonius C.l.
	Tr]eib. cuniu muliereb[us
	ludosque fecerun[t
	. . . . . o cos . . . before 94 B.C.

16. A. De Franciscis, *Epigraphica*, xii, 1950, pp. 124–130; *Ann. ép.* 1952, 54.

. . .]i L.M.l.
]onius Q.l.
]sutius C.l.Eud.
]onius . . . l.Dion.
heisce mag.hunc cuneum ab [imo ad summum ?
gra]dum aedificarunt viam
. . .]am straverunt gradusque
refecerunt loedos fecerunt
cos[. . . before 94 B.C.

17. *CIL* I², 682 = X, 3772 = *ILS* 6302

Pagus Herculaneus scivit a.d. X Termina[lia : 14th Feb.
conlegium seive magistrei Iovei Compagei s[unt
utei in porticum paganam reficiendam
pequniam consumerent ex lege pagana
arbitratu Cn.Laetori Cn.f. magistrei
pageiei(*sic*), uteique ei conlegio seive magistri
sunt Iovei Compagei locus in teatro
esset tam qua sei lu[d]os fecissent.
L.Aufustius L.l.Strato, C.Antonius M.l.
Nico, Cn.Avius Cn.l.Agathocles, C.Blossi
M.l.Protemus, M.Ramnius P.l.Diopant.,
T.Sulpicius P.Q.pu.l., Q.Novius Q.l.Protem.,
M.Paccius M.l.Philem., M.Licculeius M.l.
Philin., Cn.Hordeonius Cn.l.Euphemio,
A.Pollius P.l.Alexand., N.Munnius N.l.
Antiocus, C.Coelio C.f.Caldo
L.]Domitio Cn.f.Ahenobarb. cos 94 B.C.

18. *CIL* I², 863 = *EE* VIII, 473 = *ILS* 5734

]s Papiae l.Stepanus — A.Vibbius A.l.Diogenes
]us M.l.Diogenes — Q.Decirius Q.l.Cleo.
]us Titiniae l.Antioc. — P.Fufius P.l. Chaeremo
]us L.l.Copio — C.Artorius Artor.l.Dipil.
] L.l.Nicolauos — M.Alfidius M.l.Sota.
] A.l.Demetrius — P.Statius P.l.Philemo
Heisce] mag. lacum Iovei de stipe et de sua pequn.
faciu]nd. coeraver. Cn.Papeirio Carb.iter cos. 84 B.C.

19. A. De Franciscis, *Archivio Storico Terra di Lavoro*, i, 1956, p. 318; *Ann. ép.* 1957, 308. An inscription in the mosaic pavement of the temple of Diana Tifatina. A few letters remain, cf. *CIL* X, 3935; the remainder has been erased by simply replacing the original black tesserae with white ones. The reading is not everywhere clear; compare the reading of A. Ferrua, *Rend.Pont.Acc.*, xxviii, 1955, pp. 55–62; *Ann.ép.* 1956, 37.
L.Manius L.[f. — 2 *names* —]C.f., L.Aufeius C.f., L.[. . .]ius N.f., C.Corius L.f.
A.Naevius M.[f. . . — . . . . .]f., T.Mammius[. . — . . .]Seius M.f., P.Paccius L.f.
heisce magis[treis pavimentum faciun]dum aedemqu[e] reficiundum
columna[s. . . . — — — — . . . .]mneis in a[. .]a de stipe Dianai
faciunda co[eraverunt. L.Licinio Lucullo] M.Aurelio [Cotta]consolibus. 74 B.C

20. *CIL* I², 686 = X, 3783 = *ILS* 6303

. . . Alfidius C.f.Strab. — Cn. . . . . us Cn.f. — M.Pontius M.l.Sal.
M.Pandius M.f. — M.C[l]oelius C.f. — A.Ocratius M.l.Alex.
P.Octavius P.f. — M.Heidius M.f. — C.Hostius M.l.Herm
C.Cornelius C.f.Sap. — L.Decumius N.f.Stab. — A.Rubrius A.f.praec.
Heisc.magistr.ex pagei scitu in servom Iunonis Gaurae [co]ntule.
P.Cornelio Lentulo Cn.Aufidio Oreste cos., m[71 B.C.

21. *CIL* I², 684 = *EE* VIII 474

]eiu[
]ag.magis
] magistri [
]ius Seleuc[
]us Antioc[
]ufio [
]us Stepan[
]uam victr[
] Camp
]d.

22. *CIL* I², 687 = *Not. Scav.* 1893, p. 164 = Egbert, p. 289.

Q.Sa[
Q.Min[
L.Opimi[
C.Fabiu[
P.Ofelliu[
M.Fulmon[
Heisce magistrei horto[
iudicioque vicere eidem lu[dos
sucrundam porticusque rec[
iidemque de sua pecunia Herculei[

23. *CIL* I², 688 = X 3785 = *ILS* 3064

M.Blossius M.l.Agato
M.Consius M.l.Nicol.
Sex.Allius Q.l.Sextus
M.Atilius M.l.Apol.
A.Nasennius A.l.Prot.
L.Furrius L.l.Dion.
M.Limbricius M.l.Diod.
C.Tiburtius C.l.Fl.
L.Turius L.P.C.l.Sand
A.Pactumeius A.l.Philip.
P.Octavius P.l.Antioc.
(on front) Iovei sacr.
(on back) Hanc aram
ne quis dealbet.

24. A. De Franciscis, *Not. Scav.* 1957, p. 369.

N. Vesvi N.f. — M.Egnati M.f.
M.Loli Q.f. — N.Opius N.f.
Q.Sexti C.f. — M.Teroni Ov.f.
L.Loli L.f. — C.Vibius Q.f.
C.Stati M.f. — M.Nerius Ov.f.
C.Arriu . . . f. — Cn.Arri Cn.f.
Heisce mag. hoc opus
faciundum couravere
eisdemque probaver.

25. *CIL* I², 691 = X 3788 (cf. Mazocchi, no. 245)

]ntius L.f.
]natius C.f.
]evius M.f.

26. *CIL* I², 689 = X 3784

]sL.f.[
. . .]erudiei L.f.[
. . .]Magius Cn.f.L[
M.Ragonius M.f.[
M.Lollius M.f.Ale[
M.Grusius M.f.D[
. .]Magius Cn.[
]ei mag[

27. *CIL* I², 690 = X 3791

]d[
Hilarus[
Malcio [
Callico [
Heisce m[
]ndu[
]bec[

28. Mazocchi, no. 192 (*Mem. Acc. Linc.*, x, 1903, p. 92).

]f. P.Sua[
]us M.f. . . Cla[
]N.f. Q.Hortio[
]iovi Q.l. Q.[
]ti C.f. M.S[

Of the above inscriptions, nos. 1, 13, 25, 27, 28 are lost and known only from early antiquarian writers. Nos. 2, 3, 5, 8, 11, 18, 21, 22, are at present preserved in the Museo Campano; nos. 6, 7, 10, 16, 24 are now in the new antiquarium in S. Maria di Capua Vetere; while nos. 4, 12, 14, 17, 20, 23 and 26 are in the Museo Nazionale in Naples.

EXCAVATION OF A ROMAN BUILDING NEAR 'TOMBA DI NERONE' ON THE VIA CASSIA

(Plates XXII—XXVIII)

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II. The finds 143
III. Chronology and conclusions 154

I. THE SITE

In May 1959, while digging foundations for an electric switch-room in the grounds of the Overseas School, Via Cassia no. 811, workmen came upon the remains of a Roman building. The discovery was reported to the Superintendency of Antiquities for Rome and, by arrangement with the authorities of the Superintendency, the British School undertook to supervise and to record such work of clearance and record as might prove possible within the time and with the means available. The following is a brief, factual report upon this work. In presenting it, the writer wishes to record his indebtedness to Dr. Paul Webb, Headmaster of the Overseas School; to Professor Giulio Jacopi, Superintendent of Antiquities for Rome; to Dottoressa Valnea Scrinari, Inspector of Antiquities for the district; to Mr. John Crawley who supervised most of the work of excavation in conjunction with Signor Rigitano of the Superintendency; to Mr. and Mrs Michael Ballance who helped to record and photograph the results; to Mr. Brian Hartley and Mr. R. A. G. Carson, who kindly examined and reported on the pottery and on the coin, respectively, and to all those friends and pupils of the Overseas School and visitors to the British School who volunteered their assistance during the course of work.

The principal object exposed was a well preserved geometrical mosaic, and a representative panel of this was raised and consolidated by the Superintendency restorers, Signor Dominici and Signor Sansoni. It will be preserved in the buildings of the Overseas School, together with the various finds made during the course of the work, and a photographic record of the progress of the excavations.

The site in question lies almost exactly opposite the tenth kilometre stone on the Via Cassia, in the east corner of the grounds of the Overseas School, up against the south-east boundary hedge and just inside the gate that opens on to the modern road (fig. 1). At this point the configuration of the ground has undergone considerable superficial alteration since antiquity. Within the last hundred years the road has not only been widened, but also straightened and levelled. Little more than a century ago it still passed to the south of the third-century tomb of P. Vibius Marianus ('Tomba di Nerone'), as it did in antiquity,[1] and even thirty years ago, before the spate of building that took place in the years immediately

[1] For this and other features of the ancient topography of the Tomba di Nerone district, see the notes that follow this paragraph.

following the war, the fork of the Via Veientana, which must lie very near this point, had already been lost to sight. At the tenth kilometre stone, which lies about 200 m. beyond the tomb of Vibius Marianus, the line of the ancient road almost certainly approximates very closely to that of its modern predecessor, but it may well lie as much as 3 or even 4 m. below the present surface. From this point the ground sloped quite steeply upwards in a westerly direction towards the modern villa that forms the nucleus of the Overseas School, which stands on the crest of a low, rounded knoll about 100 m. to the south of the road. Already in antiquity, as the excavation has shown, there was a tendency for the heavy, clay-like, tufa subsoil to move down the slope; and since antiquity, at a date which the circumstances of the excavation did not permit us to establish with any precision, but which may well in its final stages be quite recent, the road and the ground immediately to the north of it were deliberately levelled up to the contours which it presented before the present building operations, namely an almost flat open space for some 40 m. back from the road and beyond it sloping ground, rising gently to the south-west, more steeply to the west. Immediately beyond the crest the ground drops again steeply into the valley of the Fosso d'Acquatraversa, which forms the southern boundary of the natural ridge followed by the Via Cassia.

The area covered by fig. 1 has been extensively built over in recent times, much of it in the years immediately following the war. It covers the site of the small road-station of *Ad Sextum* (Peutinger Table), which presumably grew up around the fork between the Via Cassia and the Via Veientana.

For the long, well-preserved stretch of the paving of the Cassia explored in 1925 along the left bank of the Fosso dell'Acquatraversa, immediately above Sgaravatti's nursery garden, see *Not. Scav.* 1925, pp. 387–399; especially fig. 7. The terrace by which the road climbed to the plateau just beyond this point is still in places visible, and the remains of structures of concrete and of large tufa blocks can be seen near the small square mausoleum which stands beside the modern road at Kilo 9.45 (883491). Immediately beyond this point a section through the paving and the road-bed was exposed in 1959, 40 m. south-west of the edge of the present road; in this case the paving blocks appeared to have been disturbed and relaid.

The road now passes to the north both of the chapel of Sant'Andrea and the tomb of P. Vibius Marianus ('Tomba di Nerone'), but Canina's view (*Descrizione dell'antica cittá di Veii*, 1847, pl. III) shows it curving between them, and the position of the inscription on the latter (*CIL* VI, 1636) shows that this was the line in antiquity also. The straightening of the road at this point is evidently quite a recent feature. The tomb, a large, gable-lidded sarcophagus of Proconnesian marble, stands on a concrete pedestal nearly 3 m. above the present road-surface, in a manner strongly reminiscent of the cemeteries of Lycia and Pamphylia. There is, however, nothing to suggest that Vibius Marianus had any connections with Asia Minor (he was born at Julia Dertona in northern Italy), and comparison with Canina's illustration suggests that what now has the appearance of the core of a lofty pedestal may well in fact be the base and footings below ground of a monument of more conventional type—further proof of the extent to which the superficial configuration of the ground has here changed since antiquity. For the sarcophagus, see *Röm. Mitt.* lviii, 1943, pp. 14-15 fig. 6.

For the course of the first stretch of the Via Veientana, see *PBSR*, xxiii, 1955, pp. 45–47, For the monument known as 'il Muracciolo,' a large *villa rustica* with the remains of a wine-pressing.establishment, see *Not. Scav.* 1925, pp. 399–403; it has now been completely destroyed.

The cutting beyond the Grotta Rossa road and the 'Sepolcro dei Veienti' (a large first-century mausoleum) are still visible.

The onward course of the Via Cassia probably coincides very closely with that of the modern road. A long stretch of walling built of massive tufa blocks, laid end to end (a boundary wall?) has been grubbed out piecemeal in recent years immediately to the left of, and parallel with, the road just past Kilo 11. At Kilo 11.45 (869504) there is the concrete core of a small upstanding mausoleum in the left-hand hedge.

The remains exposed by the excavation (pl. XXII, *a*) are the back outer wall and parts of some of the adjoining rooms of a building which lay immediately to

the south of, and parallel with, the ancient road. The building certainly continues north-westwards within the grounds of the School, south-eastwards into the adjoining property (where the workmen report the discovery of further stretches of mosiac paving), and north-eastwards towards the road. In all, parts of four rooms, or possibly of three rooms and a courtyard or corridor, were exposed (fig. 1, *a*). One of these (Room 1) was a rectangular room with a well preserved black-and-white mosaic pavement. Adjoining it to the north-west was a rather smaller, apsed room (Room 2) with the destroyed remains of an *opus sectile* pavement. Room 2 opened out of another marble-paved room (Room 3), of which only the extreme south angle could be cleared; and this in turn opened into a room, or open space (Room 4), which lay to the north-east of Room 1.

The masonry of the original construction throughout is a tufa *opus reticulatum*, with small rectangular blocks of the same material (*tufelli*) at the external angles, i.e. at the shoulders of the apse and at the jambs of the only exposed doors (pl. XXVI, *c*, *d*). The tufa is of a poor quality, pale grey in colour and tending to disintegrate into a soft, spongy, cream-coloured substance of the consistency of soap; the *caementa*

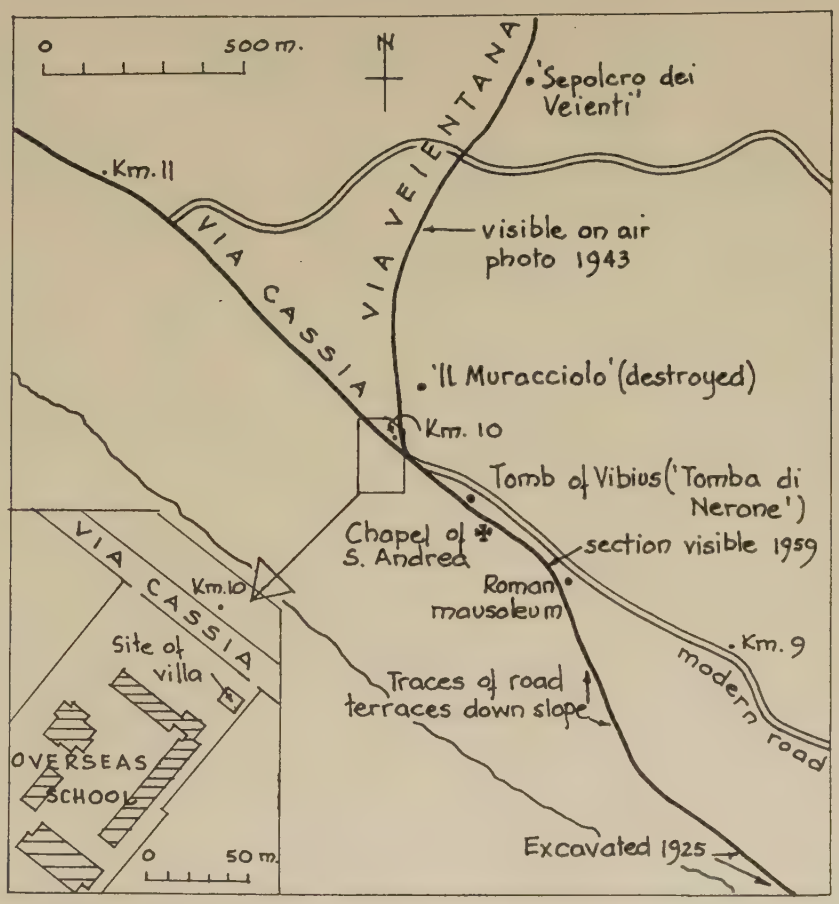


FIG. 1.

are of the same material. The mortar is pale purplish grey and quite hard, the weaknesses of the building being due to the poor quality of the stone rather than of the mortar. The faced walling rests on a footing of the same materials, of which

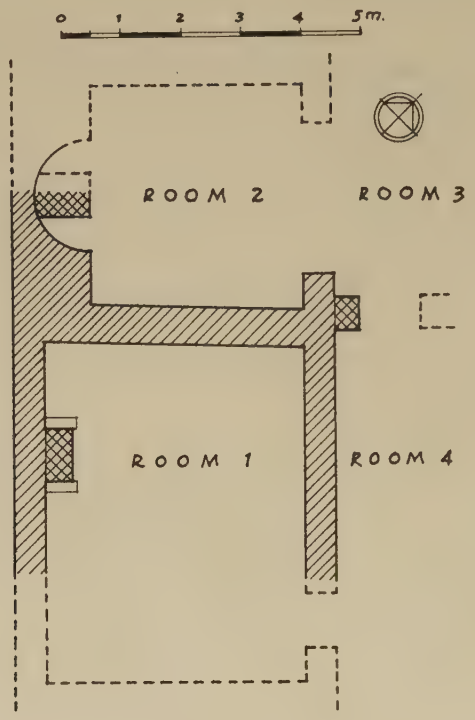


Fig. 1a. Site Plan

the lower part was laid directly in a square-cut trench and the upper between planks, with a slight offset at the junction of the two, and a second, rather more pronounced offset at the base of the actual wall-face (fig. 5-CC′).

Room 1 (pls. XXII–XXIV). The south-east wall of the room with the mosaic (Room 1) lay beneath the line of trees that marks the limit of the property and could not be cleared. Assuming that the pattern of the mosaic was so contrived as to end with a complete unit (an assumption which seems to be justified by the care with which it was designed and laid out) the room must have measured 4·44 m. by approximately 5·50 m. There was a single door, the *tufelli* of one jamb of which appeared in the north-east wall at the extreme eastern corner of the excavation (pl. XXVI, *d*). The only other structural feature is a rectangular block of masonry (45 × 89 cm. in plan) which projects into the room towards the south-west end of the rear wall, obliquely opposite the door (pl. XXIII). It is carelessly built of coarse concrete with a rough brick facing and it was meant to be faced with slabs of stone or marble. The facing itself has gone, but two of the roughly shaped blocks of travertine on which it stood are still in position, one on either side, and the scar

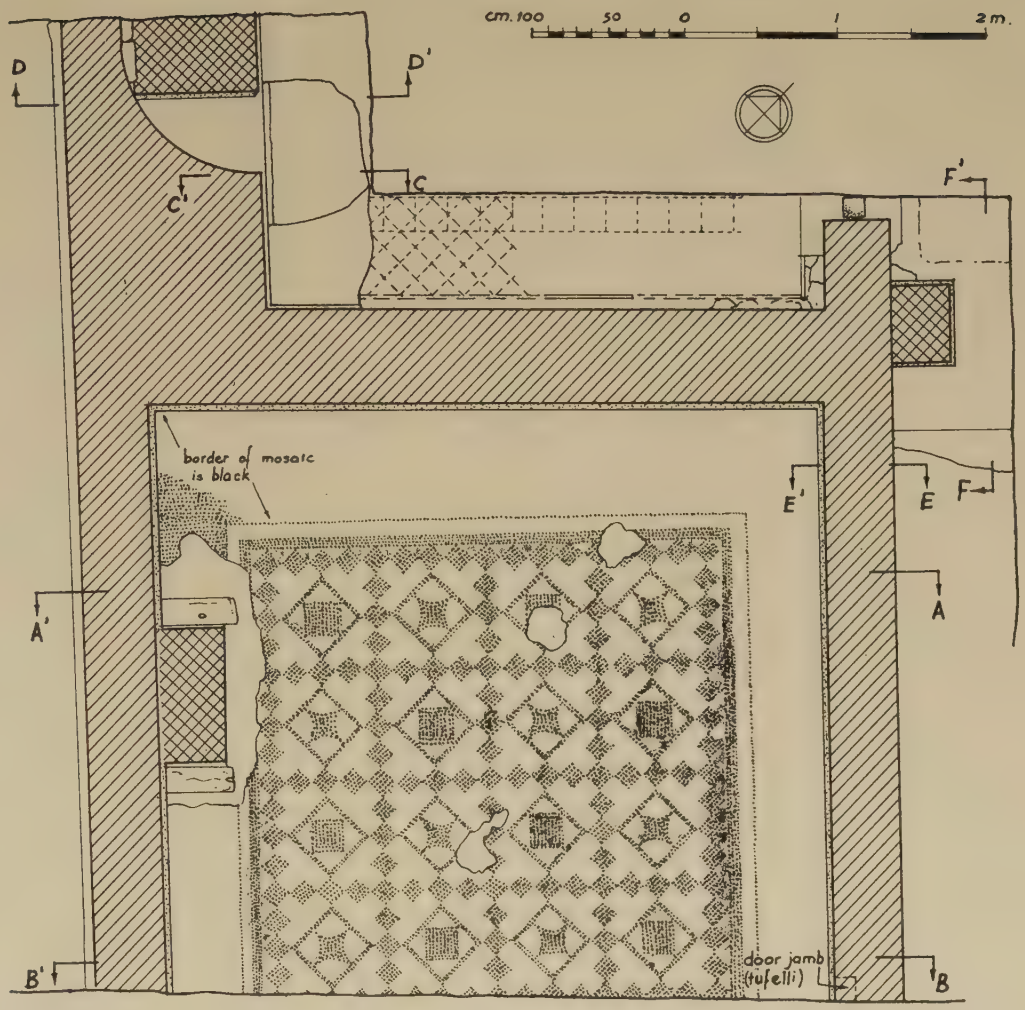


Fig. 2. Detailed Plan

of the third is still clearly visible along the front. This feature was certainly an addition to the original plan, since not only is it built up against the reticulate facing of the rear wall, but its footings have been trenched through the mosaic paving and incorporate a coin of Gallienus (A.D. 259–268). There is nothing to indicate its purpose. It is not impossible that this was primarily structural, rather than ornamental, the object being to buttress the outer wall at a point where it was showing signs of weakness. This would accord well enough with its position, eccentric both to the axis of the room and to its door. The rear wall was certainly under pressure from without, and, as the section shows (fig. 3–BB′; cf. pl. XXIV, *d*), it did eventually collapse inwards when the building was finally abandoned.

The main surviving feature of this room is the mosaic (pls. XXII, *b*; XXIV, *a*, *b*), a simple but effective geometrical design carried out in tesserae of a hard, white limestone and of dark blue-black volcanic basalt (*selce*). The detail is quite coarse,

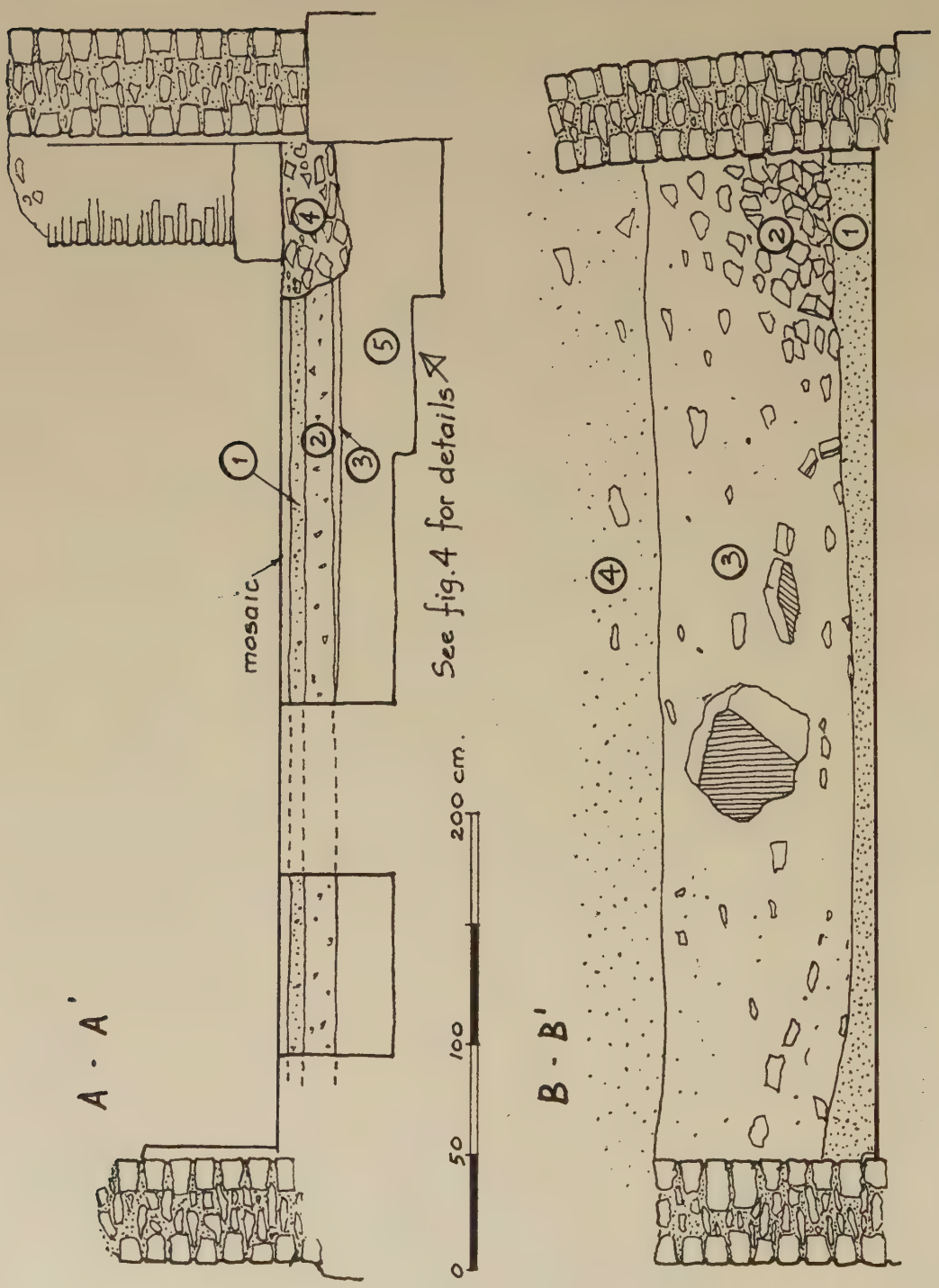


FIG. 3. SECTIONS AA', BB'

averaging between 40 and 48 tesserae per 100 sq. cm.; but the workmanship is sound, and the main lines of the pattern were very carefully laid out so as to avoid anomalies or irregularities in the finished design. The maximum discrepancy revealed at any point within the mosaic was, in fact, less than 2 cm., the slight initial irregularity in the plan of the room being entirely taken up within the plain outer border. Although a competent and quite effective example of its type, there is little (apart from the detail of the design; see below, p. 154) to distinguish this mosaic from hundreds of others that have been found in and around Rome, dating from the first two centuries of our era. The only somewhat unusual feature that it presents is that round the extreme edge the tesserae are not laid right up to the face of the wall. There is a narrow, rather irregular gap, 6–9 cm. wide, all round the outer edge, into which have been packed fragments of pottery and tile, and a few small pieces of coloured plaster.

The wall-plaster is described below (p. 147). Although that still visible on the walls is in very poor condition and may well have been patched in antiquity, there were many large fragments that were far better preserved, found among the debris fallen from the upper parts of the walls, chiefly in the south-eastern half of the room (cf. pl. XXIV, *d*). These indicate an architectural scheme belonging to (or very closely derived from) the so-called Style II phase of Roman wall-painting, simulating an order of fluted columns set upon a continuous socle and dividing the wall-surface into large panels of plain colour. Apart from possible patching, there is no indication that the room was ever redecorated.

The lifting of a part of the mosaic made it possible to examine the basis of the floor and the levels underlying it. From the section (fig. 4) it is evident that, contrary to first appearances, the floor was an original feature of the building, laid directly over the levels associated with the construction of the outer wall. In the make-up of the floor itself was a certain amount of pottery, datable approximately to the early part of the first century A.D. (see below). The same section also confirmed the later date of the buttress-like feature, the footings of which are trenched right down through the make-up of the floor and into the levels beneath it.

Notes on Section AA' (figs. 3, 4)

The tesserae are bedded in a very thin (2–3 mm.) layer of fine white mortar, which rests on a 2 cm. layer of rather coarser, soft, dark grey mortar. Below this are the following levels:

1. A dark *opus signinum*, 7 cm. thick, which serves as a basis for the softer mortars of the actual bedding of the mosaic. It contains a great deal of crushed brick, tile and coarse pottery, and a few finer sherds.
2. A fill of earth and tufa chips, 13–14 cm. thick, greyish-yellow and rather dusty. Although it contains a considerable quantity of fine pottery (in several cases more than one sherd of the same pot) it has none of the character of redeposited occupation material; it looks more like builder's debris.
3. A thin, pale greenish-yellow layer, of varying thickness. It ends up against the footings of the outer wall just below the top of the footings, and it presumably represents the trample of tufa debris from the construction of the wall proper.
4. Footings of the 'buttress,' trenched irregularly down through layers 1 and 2, and in places through 3 into the top of 5. It is built of large and small stones laid roughly in mortar within a ragged trench. A coin of Gallienus (p. 148) was found built into the footing near the north corner, 18 cm. below the surface of the mosaic.
5. Massive fill (thickness not ascertained) of the heavy, chocolate-coloured 'clay' (a claylike

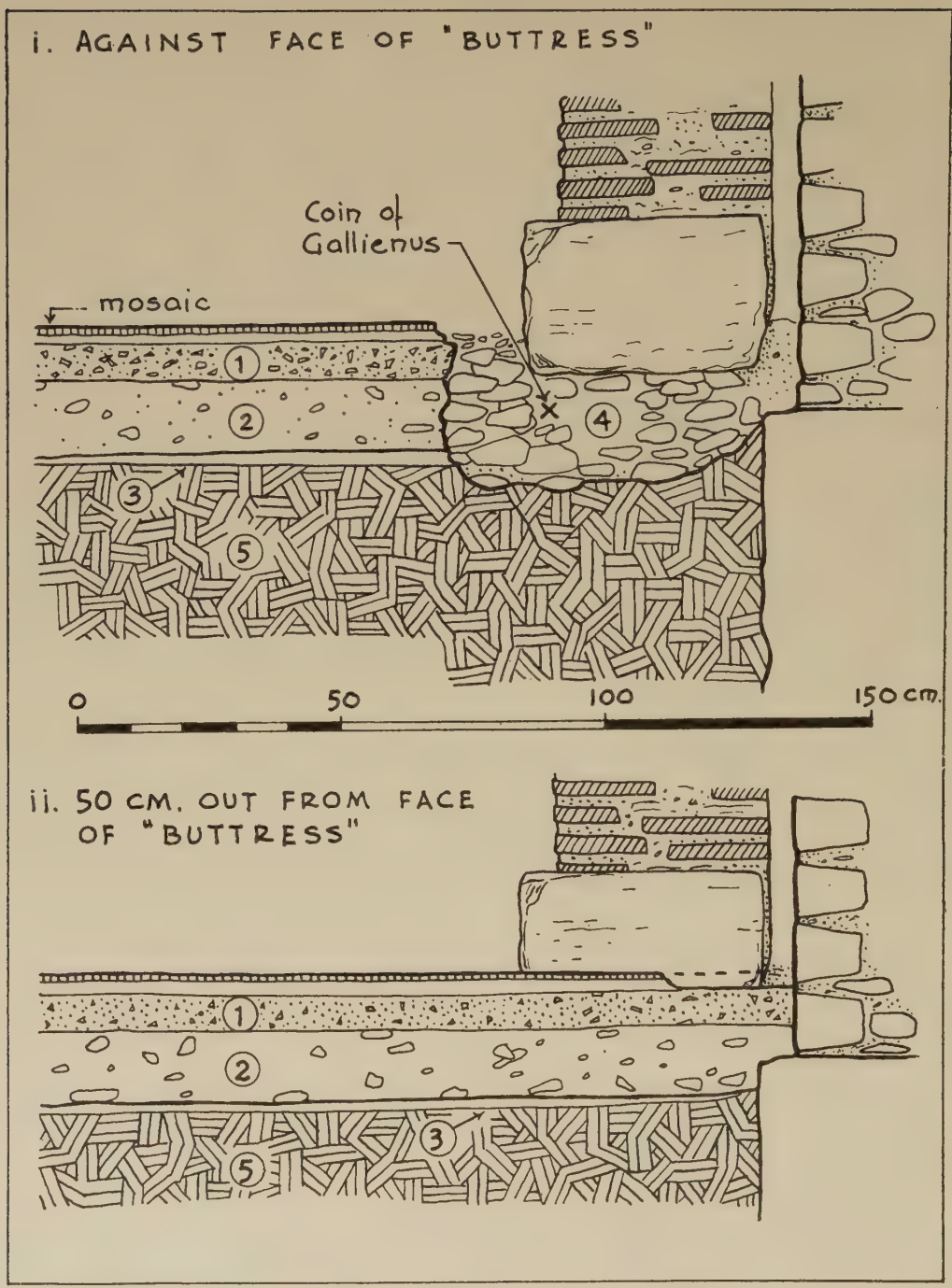


FIG. 4. DETAILS OF AA′

pozzolana) which constitutes the natural soil of the hillside at this point; deposited after the building of the footings of the outer wall. It contains a number of sherds of fine pottery, very like those from level 2.

Notes on Section BB' (fig. 3; cf. pl. XXIV, *d*)

1. Clean, dark silt, with very few stones. The first accumulation of dust and mud on the floor o the building after its abandonment.
2. Loose rubble and mortar, the collapsed remains of the upper part of the outer wall, the surviving part of which leans markedly inward. The rubble includes a number of *opus reticulatum* facing blocks.
3. Earth and stones, the relative proportions of which vary considerably from one part of the section to another. This layer includes a number of large pieces of plaster fallen from the upper parts of the south-east (and north-east?) walls (pl. XXIV, *d*).
4. Dark earth, with some stone in the lower part; the accumulation of soil after the collapse or destruction of the villa. The present surface is 2.30–2.40 m. above the pavement.

Room 2 (pl. XXV). In marked contrast to the meticulously careful lay-out of the mosaic, that of the walls was decidedly careless, the north-western wall of Room 1 being no less than 9 cm. out of a strictly rectangular alignment. This was clearly an accidental feature. The room beyond it (Room 2) must have been almost exactly square, at any rate in intention, each side measuring some 3·65–3·70 m. In the middle of the rear wall, towards the south-west, there was a semicircular apse, measuring about 1·85 m. across the chord, built into the thickness of the wall, which is proportionally thicker than the other walls; and opposite the apse, on a line that prolongs that of the north-east wall of Room 1, there was a wide door opening into the apsed room from Room 3. All that could be cleared of this apsed room was half of the south-west wall and of the apse, and a narrow trench along the inner face of the south-east wall. Fortunately this was sufficient to establish the plan and something of the internal lay-out.

That the apse is a feature of the original plan is shown by the thickening of the rear wall, which is of one build with the adjoining walls and of an identical reticulate construction, with *tufelli*, now partly disintegrated, at the shoulders of the apse. The footing, as is usual practice, runs straight across the chord, and seated on it, flush with the shoulders of the apse, there is a rectangular pedestal, 75 cm. high and 82·85 cm. deep, built of concrete with a rough facing of bricks, laid rather carelessly with a liberal use of mortar and wide joints (pl. XXV, *b*). At first sight this brick pedestal, or plinth, might seem to be a secondary feature. There is however, no trace whatever of any earlier surface either behind it or against the face of the apse, or beneath it on the upper surface of the footing; and the surviving remains of a heavy rendering on both these surfaces as well as on the top and on the exposed flank of the pedestal itself (that on the front is missing altogether), shows that apse and pedestal alike were entirely sheeted with slabs of marble, at any rate to just above the height of the top of the pedestal. The difference in materials represents a difference of function rather than of date. The pedestal was built to carry some fairly heavy object, such as a piece of statuary; and the rather careless construction of its brick facing shows that, when it was built, it was already intended to be covered with a decorative veneer.

The apse and its pedestal were not the only marble features. That the walls, too, were veneered at any rate to a certain height is shown by the scanty remains of

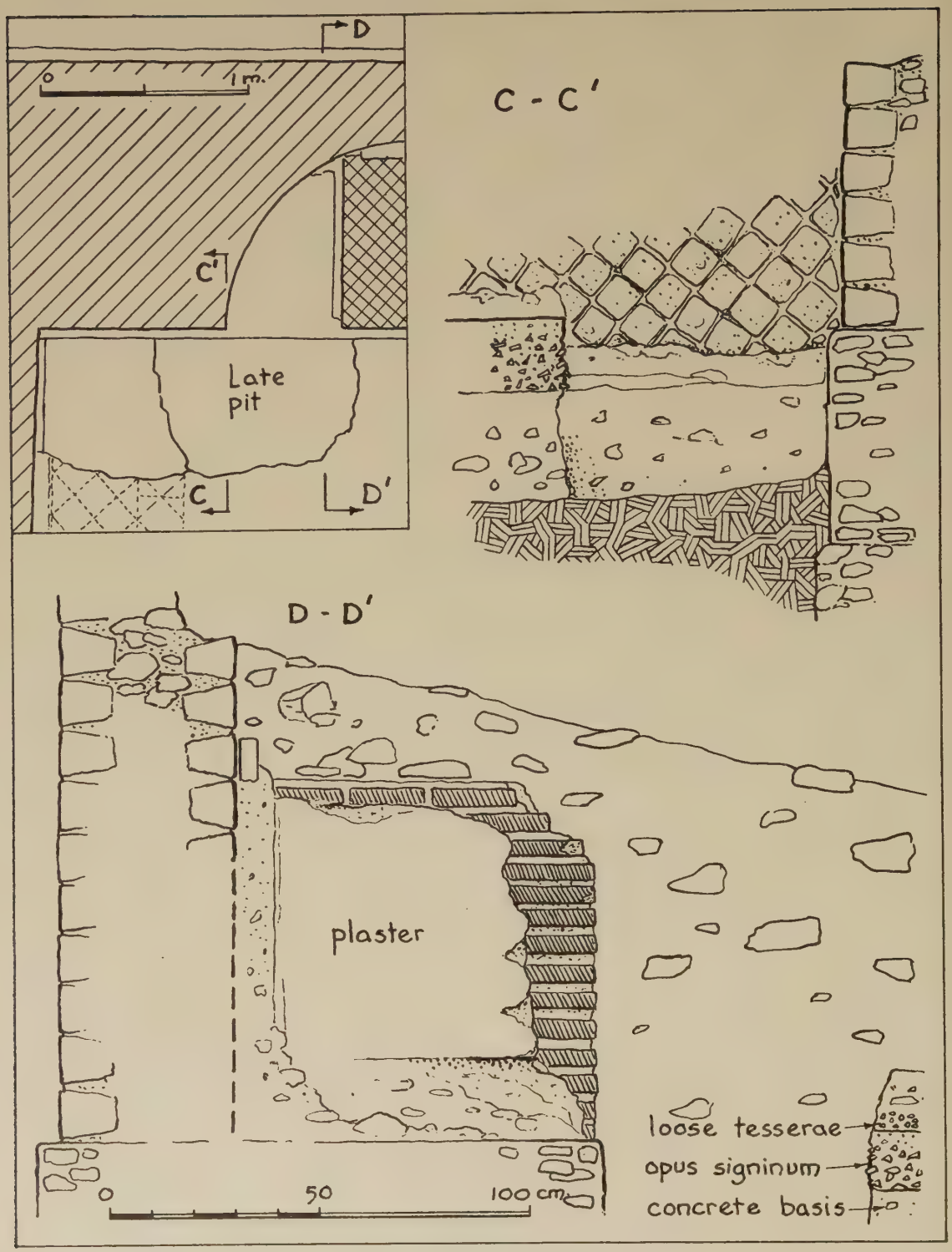


FIG. 5. SECTIONS CC', DD'

a skirting of dark grey-blue slate all along the south-eastern wall-face and along the inner face of the reveal of the doorway. There was also a paving of marble tiles. Of this, nothing has survived except the hard mortar bedding, with a few scattered fragments of marble imbedded in the surface, but one can trace enough of the imprints of the individual tiles to see that the framework of the design was a simple one: an outer border, 42 cm. wide, consisting of 14 cm. square tiles laid obliquely, and an inner border made up of 21 cm. squares, each consisting of four triangular tiles enclosing a 14 cm. square; within this inner border there was a central square panel measuring just over 2 m. The squares of the frame were doubtless laid in a pattern of alternating colours. The central panel may well have been more elaborate, but unfortunately it lay outside the area excavated. The fragments found imbedded in the mortar base or loose in the fill include the following qualities of coloured stone and marble: Pentelic marble; blue-black slate; a blue and white, striped or mottled Italian marble; *africano*; single pieces of Numidian (*giallo antico*) and possibly green Thessalian (*verde antico*) marble;[2] and a length of plain beading in red Laconian marble (*rosso antico*). There are also fragments of much heavier slabs of Proconnesian and Pentelic marble, up to 3 cm. thick, including one which, to judge from the mortar adhering to it, comes from the facing of the apse or of the pedestal.

Of the doorway opposite the apse, only the reveal and one end of the marble threshold could be cleared (pl. XXV, *c*). The former projects about 60 cm. from the side wall, and is built of very decayed, now almost shapeless *tufelli*. The threshold, which has cracked under the weight of the reveal, is of white Italian marble; cut rather roughly into its upper surface, up against the jamb, is a shallow, square socket, which must have housed the post of a door or screen across the entrance.

The whole of this room was found methodically stripped. Dumped over a large part of the floor, directly on top of the mortar bedding for the vanished marble floor, was a deposit several centimetres thick of loose tesserae, of the same materials and quality as those used in Room 1; and the tumbled fill immediately above this again contained not only brick, tile and building stone, but also a number of pieces of marble veneer and statuary, including a small piece of an inscribed base, a small herm-shaped bust, probably of Dionysus, and several fragments of the limbs and the wooden club or tree-trunk support of a nude, or partly nude, male figure, slightly over half life-size, probably identifiable as Hercules (see below, p. 144; pl. XXVII, *c*). There can be no certainty, but it may well be that these last are what remains of the figure that once stood on the pedestal. A curious and unexplained feature of this stage of the building's history is that, after the tesserae had been dumped on the floor, somebody found it worth while to dig a hole in the south corner of the room beside the apse, exposing a layer of mortar make-up below the bedding of the marble pavement, and at one point cutting right down into the underlying earthern make-up (fig. 5).

Rooms 3 and 4 (pl. xxvi, *a*). Of the room (Room 3) that gave access to Room 2, only the extreme south corner could be cleared. Like Room 2 it had a marble

[2] Or, alternatively, *granito della sedia*, which takes its name from its use in the Chair of St. Peter, and which was quarried at Barūd, in the eastern desert of Egypt.

skirting, and there is the impression of a marble floor, this time not of *opus sectile* but of rectangular marble slabs, at any rate round the outer border. To this, or to some similar floor, must belong the fragments of thick Proconnesian and Pentelic

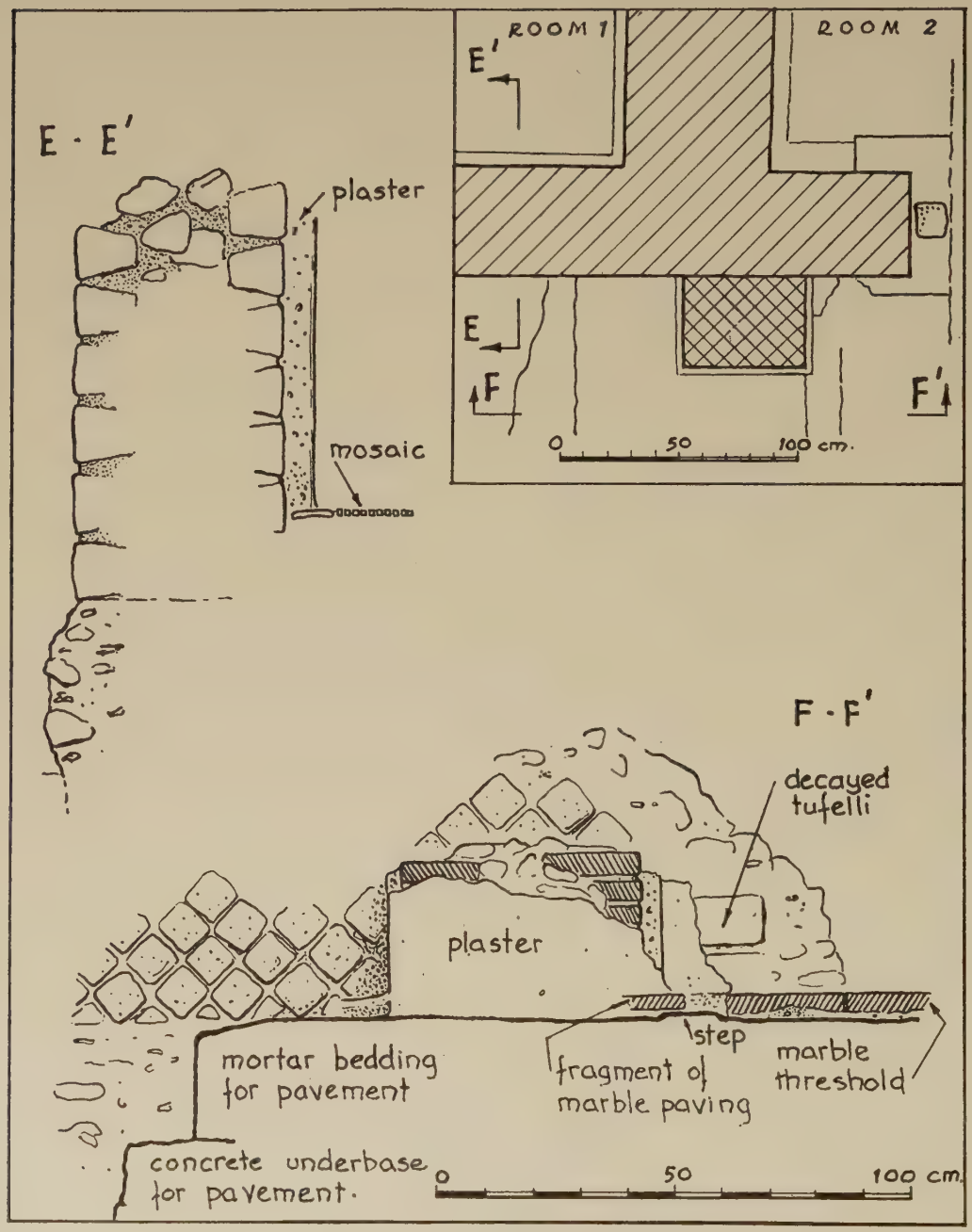


Fig. 6. Sections EE', FF'

paving slabs found among the debris within Room 2. From Room 3 a second door led into the space (Room 4) adjoining Room 1 to the north-east. In this case the reveal, which projects 38 cm., is of brick with a plastered surface, and is patently an addition to the original plan, being built up against the original reticulate facing and well out of alignment with the wall between Room 1 and 2 (fig. 6; pl. XXVI, *a*). Beneath it is incorporated, still in position, a small fragment of the marble pavement of Room 3 and, running across the line of the doorway, a raised strip of the mortar bedding, 13 cm. wide, which probably represents a narrow strip of thinner (and possibly differently coloured) marble separating the heavy marble pavement of Room 3 from a similar pavement in Room 4. The latter extends another 96 cm. and then breaks off sharply along a straight line, dropping 24 cm. to a further mortared level. This in turn projects a short distance and then breaks off on an irregular line, either because this is in fact the original limit of the underbed for the heavy marble floor, which came to an end up against some screen-like feature that has since been removed, or also because, as in Room 2, somebody has at this point burrowed through the floor and its seatings, destroying both. Without further excavation than was possible on this occasion, one can only state the alternatives. In the former case the sharp edge a short distance inside the door must be that of a step down, which would bring the floor-level within Room 4 uncomfortably close to that of the top foundation offset.

II. THE FINDS

(*a*) *Fragments of marble sculpture and veneer*

1–2. Pl. XXVIII, *c*. Two joining pieces of a small bust of Pentelic marble, broken across the neck; chin missing and surfaces much worn. Height together 19·8 cm., width at base 13 cm. The two pieces were found some distance apart within the debris overlying the pavement in Room 2; they have been weathered very differently, the lower part being far more heavily encrusted than the upper.

The form of the bust, with squared back and shoulders and long tresses of hair falling on either side, resembles that of a herm (see L. Curtius, 'Zeus und Hermes,' *Römische Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungshefte I, 1931). It appears to represent Dionysus, with a ribbon round his hair and a wreath of ivy leaves. In its present worn condition, the most prominent features are the drill-holes at the corners of eyes and mouth and in the centre of the wreath, and the long, drilled grooves on either side of the neck; but this hardly does justice to what appears to have been a competent piece of artisan's work, dating probably from the second century A.D.

3–6. Pl. XXVII, *c*. Four fragments of Pentelic marble statuary, of which the first two certainly, and the other two probably, belong to the same statue, that of a muscular male figure, nude or partly nude, carrying (or supported by) a wooden object. Found among the debris immediately above the floor of Room 4.

(*a*) Right forearm and elbow, broken off just above the wrist and elbow; max. surviving length, 18·6 cm. There is the scar of a support on the underside of the forearm just above the break.

(*b*) Left (?) knee and a short stretch of the thigh; surviving length along the upper surface, 9 cm. The knee was flexed.

(*c*) Two joining fragments of a tapering object ornamented with conventional knot-holes to represent wood; height together, 31 cm. The larger end breaks off at the point of attachment with a plane surface set at right-angles to it, presumably showing that it stood vertically upon a flat base. The surviving part of the smaller (i.e. upper) end presents a flat, worked surface; the rest has sheered away obliquely along the line of attachment to some object which, as the break shows, must have projected upwards and outwards. There is a smooth, slightly recessed band about 5 cm. wide just below the top, and immediately below this, on the side opposite to the oblique break, the scar of a point of contact with some other object.

The pronounced taper of the wooden object and the smooth band round the narrow end both suggest a club rather than a conventional tree-trunk support, and the obvious interpretation of these fragments is that they come from a

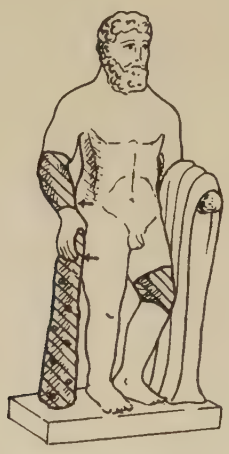


FIG. 7. HERCULES

figure of Hercules, standing with his right hand resting on the handle of the club, which in turn rests lightly against, and helps to support, another feature: possibly a formal support (as in the statue in the Atrium of the Quattro Cancelli in the Vatican; G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* III, i, p. 29, pl. 16.10); more probably, in view of the modest size of the figure, directly against the right thigh. The attitude (fig. 7) is one familiar from many slightly varying classical reproductions, notable among them being the colossal bronze figure in the Sala della Rotonda in the Vatican (*ibid.* III,

i, p. 121, pl. 37, 544). For the use of this Hercules in smaller reproductions for domestic or minor cult use, cf. *Illustrated London News*, 25 December, 1954, p. 1160, from Hatra.

7. Pl. XXVIII, *b* (*left*). Fragment of Pentelic marble; the back and the left-hand edge are original, also the upper face, which has been rather roughly dressed down to form a shallow socket (not visible in the photograph owing to foreshortening); the bottom and right-hand edges are broken, and at the junction of the two breaks there are traces of an iron pin, driven in from the back (marked with an arrow in the photograph) in order to fasten it against some vertical surface. Surviving width 12·2 cm. (originally about 23 cm., assuming the pin to have been placed symmetrically); depth from front to back 9·5 cm.; surviving height 8·8 cm. Found among the debris overlying the pavement in Room 2.

The subject of the carving is quite uncertain. The design does not seem to have been symmetrical about the convex, shield-like object in the right-hand margin, which is well to the right of the position of the centre-line indicated both by the curvature and by the position of the metal pin. It certainly stood against a vertical surface, and it almost certainly supported some further object, probably also of marble.

8. Pl. XXVIII, *b* (*right*). Fragment of a Pentelic marble relief, dressed smooth at the back, with part of the socket for a metal cramp in the upper surface, showing that the slab of which it is part was attached to another block, or slab, a short distance to the right of it. Surviving dimensions 13·2 cm. wide × 9·6 high × 7·8 deep. Found among the debris overlying the pavement in Room 2.

The most determinate feature of this fragment, which is broken on three sides, is a broad, raised band along what was evidently the upper edge of the slab to which it belonged. The upper surface is bevelled quite roughly back, and was clearly never meant to be seen; the under surface, which appears to be gently curved, is on the other hand worked, and from it projects the stump of a rectangular feature in somewhat lower relief. This is presumably part of the frame of a relief slab that was in some way inset into some larger frame, or recess, the junction between the two being probably plastered over. To judge from the quality of the marble and the dressing of the reverse face, this does not come from the same piece as no. 7.

9. Fragment of the plinth and semi-torus of a small colonnette base in Chian marble (*Porta Santa*), diam. 22–25 cm. Found in Room 4.

10. A number of fragments of Proconnesian and Pentelic marble from large paving or veneer slabs, ranging in thickness from 2·7 to 3·2 cm. Mostly found in Room 2, but some from Room 3 and 4. One fragment of Proconnesian is backed with a mortar identical with that still attached to the surface of the square plinth within the apse in Room 2.

11. A number of fragments of thin veneer marble (0·7–1·1 cm. thick), most of which probably come from the destroyed *opus sectile* pavement of Room 2.

The qualities of marble represented are Proconnesian, Pentelic, Numidian (*giallo antico*), *africano*, and what may be either Thessalian green (*verde antico*) or *granito della sedia*, from Egypt (see p. 141, n. 1); also a skirting (still in position along parts of the south-eastern edge of the pavement) of a dark blue-black calcareous stone, possibly from the neighbourhood of Sutri, where there are comparable deposits; and a loose fragment of a rounded beading, 1·5 cm. thick, of red Laconian marble (*rosso antico*).

(*b*) *Fragmentary marble inscription*

Pl. XXVII, *a*, fig. 8. Fragment from the upper right-hand corner of a small inscribed block of Pentelic marble, comprising small areas of the dressed surfaces of the front, the back, the top and the right-hand faces. Depth, from front to back, 12·8 cm.; length 13·5; height 6·2 cm. The surviving fragment of the inscribed face measures 10·7 × 4·8 cm. There is a small

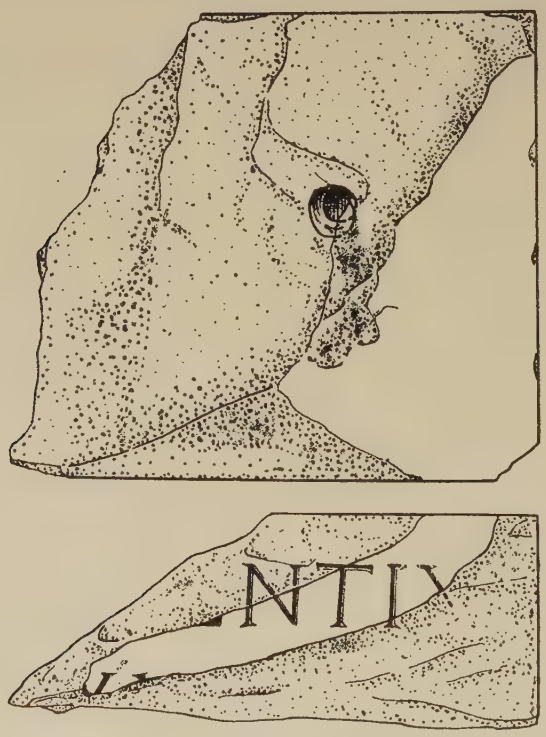


Fig. 8. Inscription

circular hole (diam. 1·2 cm., depth 2 cm.), bored obliquely from left to right into the upper face at a point equidistant from front to back, and entering at approx. 6·5–7·5 cm. from the right-hand edge.

Parts of 5 letters can be read in l. 1 of the text, and of 2 in l. 2. In l. 1, the letters NTI are certain; the first letter, with a long horizontal stroke at the foot, can in the context only have been E; the last letter is V rather X, of

which some trace of the cross stroke would almost certainly have been visible along the break. The probable reading is] Ẹ N T I Ṿ [. In l. 2, only the letter X is certain, followed by the serif of what appears to be a vertical stroke :]XI[.

From the very widely spaced form of the V at the surviving right-hand end of l. 1 it seems almost certain that this was not the end of the line (there is hardly room for any further letter), but that the inscription continued on a second block; in which case, instead of being an independent base (for which the dimension from front to back is in any case unduly small), it is part of a composite architectural feature. The feature that naturally comes to mind is the marble-faced plinth within the apse of Room 2, which measured about 80 cm. across and would have accommodated a text with up to 55–60 letters in each line; and Miss J. M. Reynolds has suggested the possibility that the surviving letters of the first line may record some form of the titles of Hercules, e.g.

Herculi victori pollenti pot]enti v[?oto suscepto (followed by the dedicator's name),

a form of the title of Hercules which is attested in *ILS* 3434. Alternatively, inverting the order slightly, some such formula as

Herculi pollenti pot]enti v[ictori deo invicto sacrum (followed by the dedicator's name in l. 2).

Clearly, as Miss Reynolds points out, any such restoration is extremely hypothetical. On the other hand, the whole group of marble fragments found in Room 2 does have all the appearance of having come from a single source and, whatever the true reading of this inscription, it is most naturally to be interpreted in relation to the fragments of figured sculpture. The key to the problem very likely lies buried in that part of the room which could not, on this occasion, be excavated.

(*c*) *Wall-plaster*

Considerable remains of the painted wall-plaster of Room 1 were found, both in position and among the debris fallen from the upper walls. The former are in such poor, faded condition that they do little more than establish the general lay-out of the design. This was an architectural scheme, comprising a long socle, 95 cm. high and divided into elongated panels by narrow bands of contrasting colour, a narrow (10 cm.), plain (?), horizontal band of yellow, and a main field which is also divided into panels by narrow vertical bands. The scheme of the socle can best be seen along the north-east wall, where, at intervals of about 1.30 m., narrow vertical strips of colour (from left to right., yellow, green, red) frame broader panels of red and yellow respectively; the only other point at which the socle design is distinguishable is at the west end of the north-west wall, where there is the same vertical panel of yellow, followed by a broader red panel. The horizontal band of yellow which crowns the socle can be traced along the north-west wall; and above it, about a third of the way along from the west angle, there is a fragment of the main field still in place, upon which can be made out the base of a narrow (13 cm.) vertical band of red set between two fields of colour now too faded for identification.

These very summary indications can fortunately be supplemented from the remains found fallen among the fill within the room (cf. pl. XXIV, *d*). These include a well preserved piece portraying (pl. XXVII, *b*) a fluted column (width 12·5 cm.) in shades of dark red, brown and cream between uniform fields of yellow and dark, brownish red. Evidently this was an architectural scheme in the manner of Pompeian Style II, with columns resting on a continuous socle, the vertical subdivisions of which no doubt represented projecting plinth-like features corresponding to each column; the north-west wall was divided into three bays, and the north-east wall into four, of which the doorway occupied the easternmost. Other fallen fragments from the series include: (*a*) a narrow, curved, yellow line, 1 cm. wide, on a field of dark, purplish red; (*b*) a fragment of white, or pale pink, with a 3 cm. emerald green border; (*c*) a narrow, light yellow band and a broader, purplish red band, together dividing a brownish red field from a light blue field. This last fragment suggests that the design may have incorporated representations of open windows or smaller panel-pictures; but, if so, they were probably very simple, since among the many small fragments preserved there is no trace of any figured designs. The colours indicated by the fallen fragments are: a fine, dark, purplish red, a dark, brownish red, and a rich, ochreous yellow (the three principal colours); a paler yellow and an emerald green, both seemingly restricted to smaller surfaces; and a few fragments of Pompeian red and of pink.

The plaster was laid on a basis of hard, grey mortar, 5–6 cm. thick and similar in quality to that used in the walls themselves. On top of this was spread a coating of a much finer, white plaster, 0·8–1·5 cm. thick, on top of which again was the smoothed, painted surface. Some of the principal features, e.g. the main horizontal divisions of the design, were scored on the plaster before painting.

In addition to the main decorative scheme of Room 1, there were also fragments of a more delicate design consisting of a white ground with slender mauve lines crossing at right angles to frame square panels; within each panel was a smaller square outlined in red. In this case the plaster backing is far less cumbrous, 3 cm. of a light, plaster-like mortar and about 5 mm. of fine white surfacing.

(*d*) *Terracotta*

1. Pl. XXVIII, *a*. Fragment of a human figure, modelled in the round; surviving dimensions, 19 × 12·7 cm. It depicts a hand and drapery, about half life-size. Found stratified beneath the mosaic floor in Room 1 (fig. 4, Section AA′, level 5).

2. Pl. XXVIII, *a*. The greater part of a terracotta antefix; surviving width, 15·8 cm. (when complete, about 17 cm.) × height 14·8 cm. Poor-quality, pale orange-pink clay, which breaks very easily. Found unstratified.

(*e*) *Coin*

Antoninianus of Gallienus, found in Room 1 stratified within the footings of the 'buttress,' at a depth of 18 cm. below the surface of the adjoining mosaic. It has been kindly identified by Mr. R. A. G. Carson of the British Museum.

obv. Head of Gallienus, rad., r.
GALLIENVS AVG.

rev. Sol to l. holding globe
ORIENS AVG.
Mint of Rome. Late in sole reign, A.D. 259–268.
RIC V1, p. 174, no. 495.

(*f*) *Pottery*

Mr. B. R. Hartley, F.S.A., has kindly examined and reported on the stratified pottery. The notes on sigillata are entirely his; those on the other fabrics are based on his comments, with a few additions of local material.

Sigillata

There is nothing approaching provincial Samian ware in either form or fabric, and an Italian origin seems certain for all the material. All the identifiable sherds have close parallels at Haltern (S. Loeschcke, 'Keramische Funde in Haltern' in *Mitteil. Alter.-Komm. f. Westfalen*, V, 1909) and in the pre-Conquest levels at Camulodunum (C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum*), and give a general impression of late Augustan or early Tiberian manufacture.

1. Rim fragment from a variant of Loeschcke 15. From level AA′–1.

2. Two joining fragments and another (burnt), probably from a different dish, all Loeschcke 2 (Camulodunum S4A). Slightly patchy, dull glaze. From level AA′–2. The close similarity of the Haltern and Camulodunum examples suggests late Augustan or Tiberian manufacture.

3. Loeschcke 12, the Arretine prototype of Drag. 24/25, with fairly bright glaze. From Level AA′–2. At Haltern, the form was comparatively rare and thought to be appearing towards the end of the occupation, i.e. *c.* A.D. 1–16. Like some of the Haltern pieces, this has a rouletted cordon and level with it an internal offset; neither feature appears on Tiberio-Claudian examples of the form. Augustan.

4. Loeschcke 8Ab; three fragments, two joining, probably from two cups. Good, thin ware. The two joining fragments have an unusual purplish glaze, perhaps because they have been burnt. From level AA′–2. This form was absent in Oberaden but relatively common at Haltern, so a date of introduction in the early years of the first century A.D. seems probable. Augustan or Tiberian.

5. Base of a dish, probably Loeschcke 4, since there is a trace of the characteristic internal offset. Hard fabric, good glaze (burnt). From level AA′–5. Insufficient for dating, though the form seems to be typically Augustan-Tiberian in Arretine fabric.

6. Rim fragment of Loeschcke 7a, common at Haltern, rarely found in Tiberian contexts and almost absent at Camulodunum. From level AA′–5. Probably Augustan.

7. Rim fragment of Loeschcke 1b. From level AA′–5. Close to Camulodunum S1A in form and fabric. Augustan or Tiberian.

8. Fig. 10, 3. Two base fragments from a dish, probably Loeschcke 4b, with the stamp L. NONI[VS] PILARCV[S] (fig. 10, 3) in a plain label. Good, matt glaze. The dish was not completely immersed in the slip, which merely trickled over the edge of the footring. From the make-up of the floor in Room 2 (level corresponding to AA′–5; cf. fig. 4). No exact parallel for the stamp has been noted, though the plain label is, of course, common with Augustan and Tiberian examples, and a potter L. Nonius is recorded at Arezzo (*CIL* XI, 6700 nos. 405–411).

9. Some unidentifiable fragments from levels AA′–1, 2 and 5 are not worth listing separately. The fabrics are all consistent with manufacture in the early first century A.D.

Other fabrics

1. Fig. 9, 1. Rim of a thin-walled jar in hard grey fabric with brown core; seating for a lid. From level AA′–5.

2. Fig. 9, 2. Plain rim of a bag-shaped beaker, or similar form, in hard grey ware with brown core and burnished outer surface. From level AA′–5.

3. Fig. 9, 3. Wall fragment from a rouletted beaker (ovoid?) in thin, hard orange-brown fabric with grey core. There is a matt brown colour-coat on the outside only. From level AA′–2.

   In form, colour-coat and decoration this piece is strikingly similar to the provincial colour-coated ware made in Gaul, the Rhineland and Britain in later times. In all of these the surface was coated with a slip rich in iron compounds before firing. Judging by the colour of fabric and coat, this piece was fired in an oxidizing atmosphere.

4. Fig. 9, 4. Wall sherd from an enclosed vessel with patchy red colour-coat on orange-brown fabric. The vessel has been dipped in slip, but part of the inner surface does not seem to have come into contact with it, perhaps as a result of an airlock. Panels of coarse rouletting separated by horizontal grooves. The undecorated part was probably masked by a handle, of which the edge of the point of attachment can be seen near the bottom left-hand corner. From the filling of the foundation trench for the rear wall of the building, outside Room 1.

   This piece is different in character from any others from the site.

5. Fig. 9, 5. Wall fragment from an enclosed vessel in slightly coarse, light brown fabric, with dull red slip internally and externally. The outside is furrowed by deep vertical grooves, parts of five of which can be seen, regularly spaced. From level AA′–5.

6. Fig. 9, 6. Handle from a thin-walled bowl, close in fabric to no. 3. From level AA′–2.

7. Fig. 9, 7. Two fragments from a lamp in rather coarse buff ware with patchy red-brown colour-coat. From level AA′–2.

The low footring suggests a date not earlier than the first century A.D.

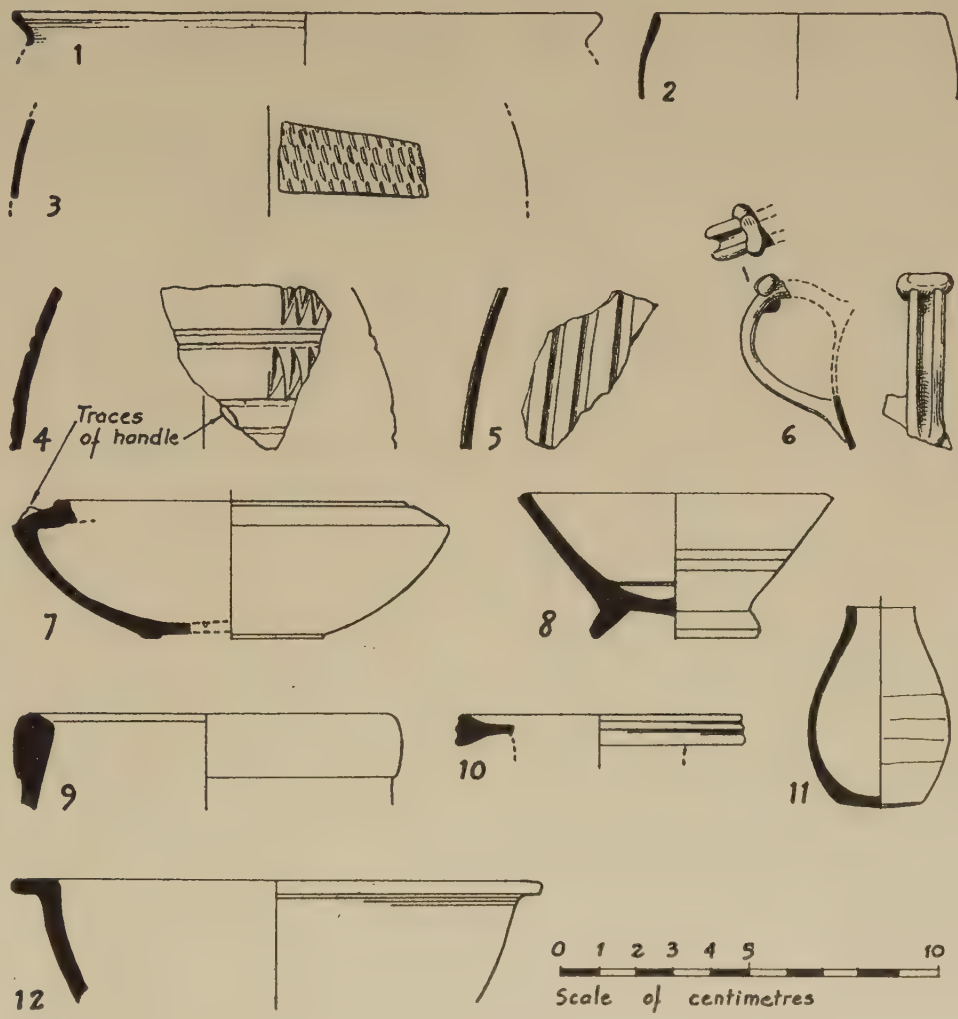


Fig. 9. Pottery

8. Fig. 9, 8. Two joining fragments from the base and the lower wall of a cup imitating Loeschcke form 8. Slightly sandy buff fabric with grey core in the thickest part; dull orange-brown slip. From level AA′–1 or 2.

This is presumably a contemporary imitation of the Arretine form, itself only introduced in the Augustan peroid.

9. Fig. 9, 9. Amphora (?) rim in hard, sandy, pink ware. From level AA′–1.

10. Fig. 9, 10. Rim fragment from a jug (?) with splayed, cordoned lip. Uniform pinkish ware with a rather patchy, matt red colour-coat. From level AA′–2.

The suggested restoration as a jug-neck is very uncertain. A possible alternative is a pedestal base. There is certainly a sharp downward break in the profile at the lower edge (as shown in fig. 9) of the break.

11. Fig. 9, 11. Body and neck of a small aryballos-shaped vessel in self-coloured buff fabric. The outside is highly burnished and has a few streaks of red-brown slip, apparently accidental. The fabric is quite different from anything else from the site, and it is extremely well finished for so small a vessel (max. diam. 3·5 cm.). From the deepest part of level AA′–5, up against the wall.

12. Fig. 9, 12. Fragment of a small open bowl with out-turned rim, with a thin, patchy, red colour-coat, inside and out, on a bright pink fabric. From level AA′–4, i.e. from the foundations of the buttress; but it may well have come originally from the earlier levels disturbed when these foundations were cut.

12. Fig. 10, 1. Rim and wall fragment from a small, exceedingly thin bowl, or wide-mouthed beaker, in hard orange-brown fabric with matt grey colour-coat on the outside only. This exterior colour suggests that the kiln may have been damped down to reducing conditions at the end of firing; the

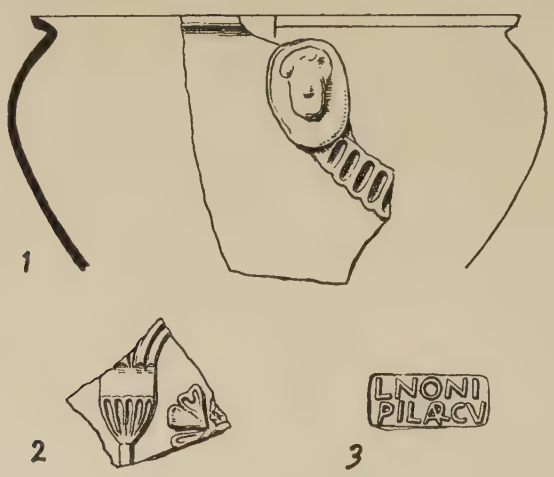


Fig. 10. Pottery (scale 1 : 1)

condition of the outer and inner surfaces (inside orange-brown, i.e. oxidized; upper part of the outside grey, i.e. reduced) would naturally result from the stacking of a group of bowls one above another in the kiln, so that the base of one sealed the mouth of the next one to it, preventing free access of the kiln gases. The outer surface has two small appliqué plaques, one an oval disc

bearing a moulded head full-face (?), the other an oblique band regularly grooved with a thin instrument with a rounded edge. Perhaps a formal garland hung betweeen two shields. From the deepest part of level AA–5.

13. Fig. 10, 2. Small fragment from the wall of a cylindrical bowl in the so-called Megarian tradition; thin orange-brown ware. The moulded decoration appears to depict a rosette, or rosettes, within an arcade. From level AA′–2.

14. Not illustrated. Fragment from a thin-walled enclosed vessel, possibly a lamp, in cream fabric with a brown colour-coat. The fabric belongs to the same general class as nos. 3 and 6, but there is a slip on the inside, suggesting that the vessel was completely immersed.

15. Fig. 11. Part of the neck and handle and part of the lower body (not illustrated) of a large jug of brittle grey-black ware, with a lightly scored groove at the shoulder and strongly marked finger-grooves on the interior.

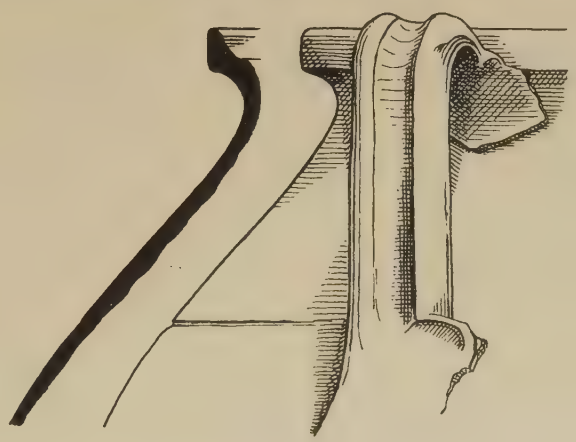


Fig. 11. Pot (scale 1:2)

Both fragments are badly distorted by heat and are either kiln wasters or debris from a severe fire (of which the site yielded no other trace). Found, together with other fragments of indeterminate but almost certainly Roman pottery, 5 m. south-west of the outer wall of Room 1 in the debris accumulated upon the original surface of the hillside.

Apart from terra sigillata (the chronology for which rests very largely upon excavations undertaken in the Rhineland) there is at present no reliable published corpus of the pottery in use in central Italy and in the neighbourhood of Rome during the early Empire. This fact, which is the excuse for publishing this small but closely dated group, is also a sufficient reason for not attempting any more detailed commentary. The only point to which it seems worth while to call attention is the presence of a substantial percentage of the 'thin-walled' wares (*vasi a pareti sottili*) which are so characteristic of early Imperial deposits in North Italy and,

more generally, throughout the coast-lands of the Western Mediterranean. Comparison with the tables published by N. Lamboglia in his long and useful review (*Rivista di Studi Liguri*, ix, 1943, especially pp. 182–3) of Christoph Simonett's *Tessiner Gräberfelder* (Basel, 1941) shows that, though not identical, the wares of Rome have many points in common with those circulating in North Italy. In particular it will be observed that the absolutely plain, upstanding rims (as in fig. 9, 2) are an early feature in North Italy also, represented in the Ticino cemeteries by examples datable within the approximate limits of A.D. 5–30. Sherds of similar thin-walled wares, though rarely abundant, are represented on a great many of the early Imperial sites of the countryside to the north of Rome, and it is by no means improbable that some were made locally.

(*g*) *Window Glass*

Several fragments of window glass were found loose in the upper levels of the fill. These were of pale yellow, transparent glass, 2–2·5 mm. thick, cut in strips 20–25 mm. wide and of unknown length; in one case the rounded edge of the sheet is preserved. The degree of transparency is modest; one can read print through it at a distance of up to 3 cm. from the paper, but at any greater distance there is too much surface distortion. The sheets were evidently poured on to a flat surface (perhaps marble; certainly not on to sand), and the upper surface of the sheet is distinctly smoother than the lower.

III. CHRONOLOGY AND CONCLUSIONS

Given the very limited nature of the excavation, one cannot expect any very far-reaching conclusions. To judge from the surviving remains and from the persistent rumours of further mosaic pavements in the adjoining property to the south-east, this was a building of some size and pretensions; the part examined is only a small part of a much larger whole.

The most significant new information is that given by the pottery found stratified beneath the mosaic floor in Room 1. So far as valid parallels are forthcoming this forms a clear and consistent group, dating from the early years of the first century A.D.; and since the levels associated with the laying of the mosaic (Section AA′–1,2) tell exactly the same story as those that accompany the building of the foundations (AA′–5), and since neither contain any intrusive material, there can be little doubt that the date of the latest sherds (probably Tiberian) is also the approximate date of the building and of the mosaic.

This accords well enough with the other evidence. The design of the mosaic is one for which close parallels can be seen at Pompeii and elsewhere, in contexts ranging from Tiberian to Flavian times;[3] and in at least two cases these incorporate the very distinctive motif of the concave-sided square set diagonally within a large square frame (cf. pl. XXIV, *a*)—at Ponza, in a Tiberian context,[4] and on Giglio in

[3] M. E. Blake, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vi, 1930, pp. 110, 114, pl. 30, figs. 12–14. The four examples cited from Pompeii appear to belong to the middle of the century.

[4] *Not. Scav.* 1926, p. 223, fig. 4. As Mr. M. W. Frederiksen points out to me, the associated tiles bearing the stamp of Hyacinthus, slave of Julia Augusta, are the product of a well-known Campanian tile factory, which cannot have been operating before A.D. 14, the date when Livia assumed this title; and the accompanying *opus sectile* pavement, with its lavish use of imported marbles, is far more likely to be Julio-Claudian than Augustan.

association with masonry said to be of Flavian date.[5] That the new mosaic falls fairly early within this range is suggested by the character of the masonry and of the wall paintings. Brick is used very sparingly—within the area explored, only in the apse in Room 2. The rest of the masonry is a simple *opus reticulatum* with *tufelli* at the projecting angles, carried out in a poor local stone but otherwise closely resembling such Ostian buildings as the Temple of Rome and Augustus (Tiberian)[6] or the Horrea of Hortensius (Tiberian-Claudian).[7] The surviving fragments of painted plaster appear to have portrayed a simple, but realistic, 'Style II' architectural scheme, and could therefore very easily have belonged to a considerably earlier date; and although there is no reason to believe that such simple motifs disappeared overnight with the introduction of the more elaborate fashions of the Augustan Age, they cannot have remained in use indefinitely. They can hardly be later than Tiberian, and even so would already have been somewhat old-fashioned.

Of the evidence available, that of the pottery is the most precise; and since it satisfies the requirements also of the masonry, of the mosaic, and of the wall paintings, the building may be assigned with some confidence to the decade A.D. 20–30, possibly a little earlier, hardly later.

Room 2, with its simple *sectile* pavement, is probably an original feature; there is at any rate, no evidence either in the section or in the superficial remains to indicate any earlier scheme, or any substantial later alterations. There can be no certainty that the sculptural remains found within this room belonged here in antiquity, although the Hercules figure would fit well upon the pedestal within the apse. It was, however, certainly a room of some substance, and it is a pity that circumstances did not permit its fuller excavation.

The only signs of later modifications to the plan of the building are the brick door-jamb between Rooms 3 and 4 and the buttress-like feature in Room 1, of which the latter was added not before the third quarter of the third century. How much longer after that the building remained in use it is hard to say; probably not very long, if the good condition of the mosaic pavement is any guide.

The final abandonment seems to have been peaceful, with no trace of fire or violence. The marble was stripped from the floor and walls of Rooms 2 and 3 and from the 'buttress,' and, for reasons to which the excavation furnished no clue, a mosaic from some other part of the building was broken up and its tesserae dumped in Room 2. Earth silted gently over the pavement of Room 1, and in due course the outer wall collapsed inwards, burying the whole beneath a mass of masonry and plaster. Finally, there spread over the whole the thick layer of soil which has effectively concealed the remains until now, and which no doubt still preserves the rest of the building for examination on some future occasion, if circumstances should ever so permit.

J. B. Ward Perkins.

[5] *Not. Scav.* 1919, p. 278, fig. 3.
[6] *Ostia*, i, pl. XLVIII, 3.
[7] *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, 4.

THE SEA CONSULS OF FLORENCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE first quarter of the fifteenth century, which saw, for the first time, the emergence of Florence as a seapower with its own fleets and ports, was particularly important in the history of the city. The conquest of Pisa in 1406, the purchase of Leghorn and Porto Pisano in 1421, and the launching and despatch of the first communal galleys in 1422, were all events that were acclaimed in Florence as jointly constituting the achievement of a cherished wish, and the birth of a new era of prosperity. Prior to this the Florentines had had to rely on the benevolence of the Pisans and the Sienese for their western outlets to the sea,[1] and on foreign or on hired shipping for the carriage of their trade. Now they planned to launch a galley system comparable to that of the Venetians, to link up trading colonies throughout the Mediterranean, and to establish a reliable vehicle for exploiting the markets of Northern Europe and for bringing in the supplies of English wool so valuable to the Florentine woollen industry.

The organisation of this new enterprise was entrusted to a body of officials known as the *Consoli del Mare*, or Sea Consuls, whose importance in the Florentine political hierarchy was for a time proportionate to that of the affairs which they controlled. Established in 1421, the office maintained its original authority and position until the galley system was abandoned in 1480; thereafter it continued to play a minor role in Florentine government until the eighteenth century. It is this first period in the history of the Sea Consuls which is to be the subject of this study, but it is easier from a chronological point of view to continue the story of the Consuls up to 1494, when the revolt of Pisa caused not only a reorganisation of Florentine commerce but also the temporary disappearance of the Consuls.

The Sea Consuls have been mentioned by several writers on Italian economic history, and two important collections of a part of their archives have been published. But the chronology of the brief histories of the office that have been attempted, and the validity of some of the conclusions reached about the duties, composition and methods of election of the Consuls, do not bear a close study. This essential preliminary to an investigation of Florentine trade and particularly the galley system in the fifteenth century is the object of this article.

Apart from passing references in some of the standard general works on Italian economic history, the following contain fuller accounts:

A. Schaube, *Das Konsulat des Meeres in Pisa*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 214–225.

G. F. Pagnini, *Della Decima e delle altre gravezze imposte dal Comune di Firenze, della Moneta e della Mercatura dei Fiorentini fino al secolo XVII*, Lisbon-Lucca, 1765–66, vol. II, p. 32.

G. Masi, *Statuti delle Colonie Fiorentine all'estero nei secoli XV e XVI*, Milan, 1941, introduction p. xviii.

A. Sapori, 'I primi viaggi di Levante e di Ponente delle galere fiorentine,' *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1956, pp. 82, 83.

A. Grunzweig, 'Les fonds de la Consulat de la Mer aux archives de l'État à Florence, *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, X, 1930, has published in French all the documents from the archives of the Sea Consuls relevant to the trade of the galleys with Flanders.

[1] Although the Arno valley and Porto Pisano had always been the principal outlet for the trade of Florence, during periods of hostile relations with Pisa, the former had to make use of other Tuscan ports such as Talamone and Mutrone.

J. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane con l'Oriente cristiano*, Florence, 1879, publishes a mass of material from various sections of the Florentine archives on Florentine commerce with the Eastern Mediterranean. He also concentrates in this period very largely on the archives of the Consuls.

Both the collections of Grunzweig and Müller, and the accounts that have been based on them, neglect the considerable amount of material on the Sea Consuls which exists amongst the *Provvisioni*, the day to day legislation of the Florentine councils, the *Balie*, the decrees of extraordinary reforming councils, the *Missive* both of the first and second chancellaries, and the Medici archive. It is with the aid of these that a more detailed study of the Consuls can be undertaken, and several events in their history revealed which are not apparent from the published sources.

As the bulk of the material in register III of the *Archivio dei Consoli del Mare* is copied from the *Provvisioni* or the *Balie*, I have, where possible, quoted references from these latter sources as being likely to be the more accurate versions.

1. *History of the Office.* In deciding to set up a body of Sea Consuls, the Florentines had ample precedent, since the commerce of the old Pisan Republic had been controlled by a similarly named office. The Consuls of Pisa had been already in existence in 1160, and had originated not as a state department but as the leaders of the Pisan merchant guild, the *Ordine del Mare*.[2] After the revolution of 1254 the government of Pisa began to entrust growing powers to the Consuls and at the same time gradually assumed control of the elections. By the end of the Republic, the Consuls were responsible for the defence and maintenance of the ports, and the construction of roads, bridges and warehouses necessary for the development of commerce, as well as for measures more directly concerning Pisan trade. But throughout the fourteenth century the Sea Consuls of Pisa had remained to some extent representatives of the merchant class and usually active merchants themselves. The new Florentine consuls, on the other hand, were to be state officials, appointed from that group of prominent Florentine families which provided all the other Florentine officials. They were to have no direct connection with any particular guild, but were to represent all of them, and to have authority over all of them. Their authority was to cover a much wider field than that of the old Pisan consuls, and they assumed a position of political importance in Pisa almost on a level with that of the Florentine Captain.[3]

The decree setting up the office of the Sea Consuls was finally passed by the Council of the Commune in Florence on 13 December 1421[4]. It provided for the election of six Consuls to hold office for one year, and set out their responsibilities in the commercial field, and particularly laid down the arrangements for the building of the first galleys. Among the first six Consuls to be elected was Niccolo da Uzzano, whose personal appearance amongst the new officials is evidence of the importance which was attached to them.[5]

[2] For an account of the Sea Consuls of the Pisan Republic, see: A. Schaube, *op. cit.*, chaps. I–VI, and R. Fiaschi. *Le Magistrature Pisane delle Acque*, Pisa, 1939, pp. 23–31.

[3] A. Schaube, *op. cit.*, pp. 216–217.

A. Grunzweig, *op.cit.*, p. 6, 'A Pise cette autorité avait été exercée par des gens ayant en même temps une activité commerciale. Les Consuls de Florence furent au contraire des magistrats purement politiques.'

Lorenzo de' Medici frequently sent the same order to the Consuls of Pisa as he did to the Captain. (M. L. Mori, *La Dominazione Fiorentina a Pisa dal* 1451 *al* 1469, Pisa, 1936, p. 23.)

[4] State Archives, Florence. *Provvisioni* 111, fos. 198v–200. Published by Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 279–281.

[5] S. Ammirato, *Istorie fiorentine*, Florence, 1824, vol. VI., bk. XVIII, p. 420. Cosimo de' Medici was not one of the first Sea Consuls as has been sometimes thought (A. A. Ruddock, *Italian merchants and shipping in Southampton*, 1270–1600, Southampton, 1951, p. 62), but the presence of Niccolo da Uzzano, with his enormous reputation in the city and his unsurpassed position in the Albizzi regime, is even more indicative of the importance of the new office.

In June 1423 the Consuls, who had previously resided entirely in Florence, were divided and two were despatched to Pisa to set up an office there.[6] This was a natural sequel to the successful inauguration of the galley system in the previous year when the first galleys had made voyages to Alexandria. Then Gherardo Canigiani, one of the Consuls, had gone to Leghorn to supervise the final preparations,[7] and now two of the Consuls were transferring themselves permanently to the immediate scene of operations.

The better known decree of 1426, which divided the Consuls equally between Florence and Pisa, allowed for each Consul to spend six months in Pisa in two terms of three months each.[8] In 1429 the number of Consuls was increased from 6 to 8,[9] and in 1435 their total term of office was reduced from one year to six months.[10] The new Consuls took office in March and September of each year, with four of them still in theory resident in Pisa. In fact it appears that this residence was not as permanent as it ought to have been, for in 1436 the Consuls of Pisa were peremtorily ordered to return to their posts, which had been temporarily taken over by their *Provveditori* in Pisa.[11] In 1440 it was stated that the notary of the Consuls in Pisa had to be permanently resident, since the Consuls themselves were not.[12] However in 1441 the number of Consuls was reduced to six again and it was once more reiterated that three of them must reside in Pisa.[13] The duration of the office became once more a whole year.

In 1444 a temporary body known as the Five Governors of the city and district of Pisa was set up with full authority to provide for the defence and efficient administration of the area.[14] They were given as their residence the palace of the Sea Consuls of Pisa, and the latter were ordered to return to Florence to rejoin their colleagues. The Five Governors, during the year of their office, were to take over the functions of the Consuls of Pisa, and this brief interruption in the office of the Consuls was followed on their return by the introduction of biannual appointments. Instead of six being appointed at a time once a year, three were to be appointed in March and three in September, to spend the first six months of their office in Florence and then go to Pisa for six months.[15]

The war of 1452–3 with Naples was a period of crisis for Florentine commerce and the drop in trade was reflected in the decision to reduce the number of Consuls

[6] *Provvisioni* 113, fo. 51 (22 June 1423). See Appendix. There is no definite evidence as to whether this order was ever carried out and its existence has been ignored by all writers except Ammirato (*op. cit.* bk. XVIII, p. 443). Apart from Pagnini (*op. cit.*, II, p. 31) who specifically refutes Ammirato's 1423 theory, Schaube (*op. cit.*, p. 219), Masi (*op. cit.*, p. xviii), Grunzweig (*op. cit.*, p. 5) and M. Baruchello (*Livorno e il suo porto; origini, caratteristiche e vicende*, Livorno, 1932, p. 45) date the move in 1426 without comment. One feels that this attitude is very largely due to the fact that the 1423 *provvisione* does not appear in the archives of the Sea Consuls and has therefore escaped the notice of Grunzweig and Müller.

[7] 'Diario di Felice Brancacci' (ed. O. Castellacci), *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 4, VIII, 1881, p. 160.

[8] Provvisioni 116, fo. 32v (28 May 1426). The timetable of the Consuls is described in a letter of Leonardo di Filippo Strozzi of 4 January 1426, published by D. M. Manni, *Osservazioni istoriche sopra i sigilli antichi de' secoli bassi*, Florence, 1739, vol. II, p. 74.

[9] *Archivio dei Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 33 (23 Dec. 1429).

[10] State Archives, Florence. *Tratte* 80, fos. 390 ff.

[11] *Provvisioni* 127, fo. 122v (2 Aug. 1436).

[12] *Ibid.*, 131, fo. 44 (25 May 1440).

[13] *Ibid.*, 131, fo. 322 (28 Feb. 1441).

[14] State Archives, Florence. *Balie* 26, fos. 42–43 (11 July 1444). The *Cinque Governatori della città e contado di Pisa* was an office first established in 1417 (*Provvisioni* 107, fo. 2, 26 Mar. 1417) and thereafter at irregular intervals to carry out essential administrative reforms in Pisa.

[15] *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 76 (27 Jan. 1445); *Tratte* 80, fos. 390 ff. The Five Governors took up residence in Pisa on 4 Sept. 1444 for one year (*Balie* 26, fos. 47v–48).

resident in Pisa to one, and to declare the office of the Consuls in Florence a sinecure, with a token salary of two florins a month each.[16] The Consul in Pisa was expected to work in conjunction with the two Florentine tax commissioners always resident in Pisa,[17] and Arrigo Filippo Arrigucci was sent on 1 November 1453 to fulfil this function.[18] The union was to last a year, but before the time was up the war had ended and three Consuls once more arrived in Pisa. Arrigucci remained however as an additional tax commissioner until the end of his year's office.[19]

A new group of Five Governors was installed in 1458 to carry out reforms in Pisa over a period of two years, and once again they were authorised to take over the duties of the Consuls of Pisa.[20] Between 21 November 1458, the date of the institution of the Governors, and 21 May 1459 the existing Consuls worked with the new officials; then for 18 months there were no further Consuls appointed for Pisa.[21] Meanwhile in Florence the *Capitani della Parte Guelfa* were already taking a hand in the affairs of the Consuls by the end of 1459,[22] and in January 1461 they took over completely and the Consuls of Florence were temporarily suspended.[23] This change was probably on account of the war with Venice, as the *Capitani* were traditionally responsible for defence and were probably considered better able to cope with shipping problems under war conditions. In May 1462, when the crisis was over, the Consuls of Florence were restored; starting from 1 June 1462 three Consuls were appointed every six months, to spend the first six months of a year's term in Florence and the second six months in Pisa.[24]

In 1464 a rotation system was introduced for the first time, to try to ensure some continuity of experience during the biannual changeovers in office. Under the new system two Consuls took office each year on 1 June and 1 December, and one on 1 July and 1 January. By this means each group of three Consuls, on taking up office, would contain two newly elected men and one of the old office who was only replaced after a month.[25]

In 1472 both offices were again reorganised. In Florence the *Capitani della Parte Guelfa* took over once more and the Sea Consuls of Florence were not heard of again until 1477.[26] In Pisa the Consuls were allowed to remain independent for a further six months and then a joint office of four officials was set up to take over all the duties of the Consuls and the tax commissioners.[27] The two functions become separate again in 1474,[28] and in 1476 there was a move to instal a body of six citizens instead of the Consuls of Pisa to carry out a complete reform of the commerce and navigation of the Republic.[29] The fact that the lists of Consuls appointed for Pisa continued unbroken through this period suggests either that the idea was abandoned, or else that the six reformers did not interfere with the normal office of the Consuls.[30]

[16] *Balie* 27, fos. 81v–83 (30 Jan. 1453).
[17] *Balie* 27, fos. 127v–128 (3 July 1453).
[18] *Tratte* 80, fos. 390 ff.
[19] *Provvisioni* 145, fo. 55 (20 May 1454). In the period between 1454 and 1458 it became the practice again to appoint all six Consuls at the same time.
[20] *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 179 (26 Aug. 1458).
[21] *Tratte*, 81, fos. 69 ff.
[22] *Provvisioni* 150, fo. 161v (8 Dec. 1459).
[23] *Ibid.*, 151, fo. 336 (23 Jan. 1461). This is the official date of the suspension, but in fact the last Consuls for Florence were appointed for six months on 21 May 1459 (*Tratte* 81, fos. 69 ff.).
[24] *Provvisioni* 153, fo. 38 (17 May 1462); *Tratte* 81, fos. 69 ff.
[25] *Tratte* 81, fos. 69 ff.
[26] *Balie* 31, fos. 74v–75v (29 Feb. 1472).
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Provvisioni* 165, fo. 1 (5 April 1474).
[29] *Ibid.*, 166, fo. 200v (17 Jan. 1475).
[30] *Tratte* 82, fos. 76 ff.

October 1477 brought a final attempt on the part of Florence to revive the declining state galley system by completely restoring the Sea Consuls in both Florence and Pisa with added authority and increased salaries.[31] But for reasons now beyond their control, the galleys were doomed, and after the suspension of sailings in 1480, the Sea Consuls, as such, lost much of their importance.[32] In July 1481 the three in Florence were finally suspended and all remaining powers were transferred to the *Capitani della Parte Guelfa*.[33] Within two years the *Capitani* were using a joint title when dealing with maritime affairs, that of *Capitani della Parte Guelfa e Consoli del Mare di Firenze*.[34] Consuls continued to be appointed for Pisa, although until 1491 they shared their authority with the tax commissioners. In that year the 17 Reformers divided the two offices and to a certain extent resuscitated the Consuls of Pisa by increasing their authority in non-maritime fields.[35]

2. *Duties.* With the division of the body of the Consuls into two offices in 1426, it was the Consuls in Florence who took the lead in the direction of commerce and navigation. They laid down policy, decided when the galleys were to sail, published the regulations governing the galley system, held the auctions of the galleys, and conducted and supervised the elections of their captains and patrons.[36] They were in direct touch with the central government, which often itself issued directives on the control of trade.[37] They were also in direct touch with the leading merchants in Florence, who were on occasion invited to give advice on specific problems and policies.[38] They were responsible for the election of consuls and ambassadors to go abroad; this involved the selection of special envoys who were sent to seek trade concessions, procure the release of prisoners or undertake some such specific task, also the choice of the resident consuls who presided over the Florentine colonies abroad and smoothed the passage of day to day commerce.[39] The Consuls in Florence also shared the right of jurisdiction in commercial suits between Florentines and foreigners with the *Sei della Mercanzia*,[40] and they possessed complete jurisdiction over any suits arising from the handling of the galley system.[41] Another

[31] *Provvisioni* 168, fo. 120 (23 Oct. 1477). The first six Consuls under the reorganised system took office on 1 Mar. 1478 (*Tratte* 82, fos. 76 ff.).

[32] *Provvisioni* 171, fo. 17 (3 Aug. 1480).

[33] *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 239 (16 July 1481).

[34] *Ibid.*, Reg. III, fo. 243 (10 Mar. 1482).

[35] *Balie* 39 fos. 62–71 (21–28 June 1491). State Archives, Pisa. *Archivio dei Contratti* 280, fo. 479. This volume in the *Archivio dei Contratti* at Pisa is made up of copies of documents relating to the *Consoli del Mare* in the fifteenth century. The originals of most of the material exist in Florence, but some have either been destroyed or are not easily traceable, and these copies provide some interesting and hitherto unstudied sidelights on the activities of the Consuls in Pisa.

[36] *Provvisioni* 115, fos. 58v–61 (23 May 1425) and 137, fo. 208 (29 Nov. 1446).

[37] The *Provvisioni* are full of such enactments passed by the Councils, frequently on the advice of the Consuls, but occasionally giving direct orders to them on the advice of some other authority.

[38] *Arch. Cons. del Mare, Reg. VII Pratiche.* This section of the register gives the minutes of such discussions between 1465 and 1468.

[39] *Provvisioni* 112, fo. 1 (8 April 1422). The Consuls were empowered to elect two ambassadors to go to Cairo and one to Constantinople. *Provvisioni* 113, fo. 52v (22 June 1423). They were authorised to nominate consuls in ports throughout the known world. For further examples of the use of these powers, see *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 245 (19 Sept. 1482); the appointment of a Consul in the Levant. *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 253 (15 July 1495); the appointment of a Consul in Ragusa.

[40] *Provvisioni* 139, fo. 3 (13 Apr. 1448). The decline of the *Mercanzia* in the fifteenth century was partly due to the Sea Consuls taking over much of its jurisdiction, particularly over reprisals. (A. Del Vecchio and E. Casanova, *Le rappresaglie nei comuni medievali e specialmente in Firenze*, Bologna, 1894, p. 83).

[41] *Provvisioni* 120, fo. 44v (18 Mar. 1429) and fo. 175 (31 May 1429). The Consuls could not impose a fine of more than 100 florins unless six extra Consuls were selected to join them in judging the case.

of their special tasks was the granting of grain export licences and a general control of the corn trade, a delicate task which was truly a matter of life and death to medieval communities.[42]

As co-governors of the district, in fact if not in name, and successors of the original Ten of Pisa, the Sea Consuls in Pisa were entrusted with an enormous variety of responsibilities.[43] From the outset they were responsible for the supervision of the defences of Pisa and the ports,[44] and this authority not only covered the building of fortresses and the equipping of them, but also at times the selection and payment of the garrisons.[45] Their building operations also were not confined to the military field, for they were frequently expected to undertake the repair of palaces and bridges in Pisa.[46]

In the commercial field they were responsible for carrying out the orders of their counterparts in Florence with regard to the galleys. They organised the building and equipping of the galleys, and were responsible for their punctual departure.[47] They had to ensure that all officers on the galleys knew the regulations.[48] They were also responsible for local defence of the ports from pirates and hostile shipping.[49] They had jurisdiction over commercial suits involving Pisans,[50] and suits between foreign merchants in Pisa.[51] After 1491 the Consuls and the Captain seem to have shared the old judicial authority of the *Podestà*, whose office had been suspended, with the Consuls primarily responsible for the country districts.[52]

The jurisdiction over foreign merchants was extended to a control over all foreign residents in Pisa. Such aliens had to register in the book of the Consuls in order to be able to enjoy the tax concessions that were available to immigrants.[53] This also applied to Florentines resident in the city. At one stage the Consuls were ordered to run a scheme for taking over abandoned houses in Pisa, reconditioning them, and handing them over to families of immigrants free of rent for the first 10 years.[54]

Soon after their institution the Consuls of Pisa were given a co-ordinating control over the taxes and customs organisation of Pisa,[55] and they always had direct control over the collection and disposal of special duties imposed to pay off reprisals.[56]

[42] *Provvisioni* 120, fo. 174 (31 May 1429).

[43] *Provvisioni* 116, fo. 32v (28 May 1426); *Provvisioni* 122, fo. 275 (19 Nov. 1431) extended this transfer of power, although the Ten were still in existence. The Ten (*Dieci di Pisa*) had been established in 1406 as a Florentine advisory council for the Captain.

[44] *Provvisioni* 114, fo. 10 (13 June 1424) and *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 11 (27 May 1426). The Sea Consuls of Pisa had the same defence jurisdiction in the area of Pisa as the *Capitani della Parte Guelfa* had in that of Florence.

[45] *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 61 (24 July 1442) and *Provvisioni* 141, 280v (22 Feb. 1450). It is often difficult to know during the fifteenth century which office was in fact responsible for these defences at any given time, as not only was there a certain amount of divided authority, but also the *Signoria* in an attempt to achieve maximum efficiency and security switched the task from one office to another with great rapidity. Besides the Consuls, both the Monte and the Canal officials had control at times. The latter seem to have exercised a general control over the work on the defences of Leghorn and Pisa from 1458 until 1477, when the Consuls resumed responsibility (*Balie* 32, passim.; *Provvisioni* 168, fo. 120 (1 Oct. 1477).

[46] *Provvisioni* 120, fo. 247 (16 July 1429).

[47] *Provvisioni* 115, fos. 58v–61 (23 May 1425).

[48] *Ibid.*, 137, fo. 208 (29 Nov. 1446).

[49] *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 22 (26 Oct. 1428). This is the first of a long series of directives to the Consuls of Pisa to equip guardships and provide marines for the defence of trade.

[50] *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 11 (27 May 1426).

[51] *Ibid.*, Reg. III, fo. 51 (28 Feb. 1440).

[52] *State Archives, Florence. Missive, 2da. Cancelleria, registri* 13–17, *passim.*

[53] *Balie* 39, fo. 63 (21 June 1492).

[54] *Provvisioni* 132, fo. 70 (9 June 1441).

[55] *Provvisioni* 116, fo. 32v (28 May 1426). This authority was previously held by the Ten of Pisa.

[56] *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fos. 86–89 (31 Aug. 1448).

Their frequent amalgamation with the tax commissioners strengthened their responsibility for the finances of the city. On occasion they were also called upon to carry out the periodic revisions of the *estimo* of the *contado*.[57]

This interest in the *contado* was to be seen to an even greater extent in the works of drainage and general improvement carried out by the Consuls under the special authority granted to them in 1455, 1475 and 1491.[58] The principal problem which faced the Florentine administration in the lower Arno basin, was the persistent conversion of arable land into pasture by the many absentee landlords, both Pisan and Florentine, and by the religious houses.[59] This not only cut down the value of the area as a producer of corn, but also resulted in damage to essential drainage works, and the land reverting to its natural state of marsh. It has been suggested that it was a part of Florentine policy to allow the country round Pisa to fall into this state, so that disease might be added to the other trials which beset the hated Pisans.[60] This is an extreme view, but it is usually felt that the Florentines were unnecessarily dilatory in waiting until 1475 before attempting to improve the area, and then that the initiative was largely due to Lorenzo de' Medici, who wished to improve the value of his own lands around Pisa.[61] The truth in fact is that one finds Florentine laws relating to this problem throughout the century, and the Sea Consuls, if not committed to the solution of it before, were certainly employed after 1455, when they received very similar authority to that conferred by the often quoted legislation of 1475.[62] These orders were mainly aimed at restricting the pasturing of herds in certain areas around Pisa, banning the conversion of arable to pasture without special permission, and the enforcement of old-standing customs by which the inhabitants of the country districts paid for and assisted in works of improvement and drainage. The supervision of this campaign thus became the job of the Consuls of Pisa long before 1480 and it cannot really be said that the growth of their interest in the agricultural field coincided with the decline of their importance in the commercial.[63]

Finally in Pisa itself the Consuls issued regulations for the sale of fish[64] and reviewed the statutes for the sale of all foodstuffs.[65] On one occasion at least the Consuls also acted as representatives of the corn commissioners and bought corn for Florence from the Genoese.[66] In 1458 they were entrusted with the custody of

[57] *Provvisioni* 141, fos. 316v–317v (13 Mar. 1451) and *Balie* 39, fo. 90v (27 July 1491).

[58] *Provvisioni* 146, fo. 270 (14 Dec. 1455); *Provvisioni* 166, fo. 20v (29 April 1475); *Balie* 39, fo. 64v (21 June 1491).

[59] G. F. Pagnini, *op.cit.*, II, p. 34; also *Provvisioni* 157, fo. 247 (13 Mar. 1467) and *Provvisioni* 180, fo. 100 (19 Dec. 1489).

[60] R. Fiaschi, *op.cit.*, pp. 19–20, 43–44; N. Caturegli, 'Le condizioni delle chiese di Pisa nella seconda metà del secolo XV,' *Bollettino Storico Pisano*, XIX, 1950, pp. 30–31.

[61] Targione Tozzetti, *Relazione di alcuni viaggi*, Florence, 1768, vol. II, p. 199; M. L. Mori, *op.cit.*, pp. 67–68.

[62] As early as 1421 the *Signoria* was given the power to decide on the division of the *contado* of Pisa into arable and pasture (*Provvisioni* III, fo. 14, 26 April 1421), and by 1438–39 laws were being enforced to prevent the pasturing of beasts within 4 miles of Pisa and in certain other parts of the *contado* (*Provvisioni* 129, fo. 294, 19 Feb. 1439). In 1447 the conversion of land from arable to pasture without special permission was forbidden (*Provvisioni* 138, fo. 90. 13 June 1447).

[63] This is the view usually taken, based on the assumption that the interest of the Consuls in the state of the *contado* dated from 1475. See R. Fiaschi, *op. cit.* pp. 43–56; A. Schaube, *op. cit.* pp. 213 ff.; F. Borlandi, *Documenti e studi per la storia del commercio e del diritto commerciale italiano*, vol. VII, *Il libro di mercantie e di usanzi de' paesi*, Turin, 1936, Introd. p. 1.

[64] *Provvision* 121, fo. 83v (28 Nov. 1430).

[65] *Provvisioni* 120, fo. 44v (13 Mar. 1429).

[66] *Ibid.*, 149, fo. 133v (31 Aug. 1458).

the city prison.[67] Another important field of their activity was control of the Pisan guilds, particularly after 1459 when the latter were largely emancipated from the stranglehold imposed upon them by their Florentine counterparts.[68] In fact a certain degree of control over the affairs of the guilds and industry throughout the dominions had been given to the Consuls as a whole in 1422,[69] but in Pisa this involved also the right to receive a quarter of all the *matricole* paid to the consuls of the guilds.[70]

None of the Consuls were allowed to have any share in the trading ventures which they launched,[71] nor were they permitted to hold any other office under the Republic at the same time.[72] Those at Pisa were expected to reside there throughout their term of office, not leaving the city except with the express permission of the *Signoria*.[73] They lived in the palace which was at first rented and later bought from the Gambacorti, and which became the centre of the *Dogana*.[74] They were not permitted to have their families within fifty yards of the palace.[75]

The principal officer of the Consuls in Florence was the treasurer, who collected the bulk of the income of the office and passed it on to the Consuls in Pisa, who were the principal money spenders. They at first also had a treasurer of their own, but to save money this office was abolished and the city treasurer of Pisa carried out the duties.[76] Both groups of Consuls had a notary, and the one at Pisa at times acted as proxy for the Consuls on such occasions as that when they were authorised to leave the city during a bad outbreak of plague.[77] Also in Pisa were two *Provveditori* of the Consuls, one in charge of the shipbuilding yards and the other responsible for the sailing of the galleys.[78] By the middle of the century these officers were receiving six florins a month each.[79]

3. *Methods of election.* The method of election of the Sea Consuls, both at their institution in 1421 and later, is a subject which has caused some confusion to chroniclers and later historians alike. The difficulty has arisen to some extent from the ambiguity of the original statutes of institution, which laid down a system whereby five of the Consuls should be chosen from representatives of the five major

[67] *Missive, Prima Cancelleria,* 41, fo. 12 (28 Feb. 1457).

[68] M. Lupo Gentile, 'Le corporazioni delle arti a Pisa nel secolo XV,' *Annali della Scuola Normale,* LX, 1940, pp. 198–199.

[69] *Provvisioni* 112, fo. 245v (30 Dec. 1422).

[70] M. L. Mori, *op. cit.,* pp. 62–65; *Balie* 39, fo. 64 (21 June 1491).

[71] *Arch. Consoli del Mare* Reg. III, fo. 28 (18 June 1429) and *Provvisioni* 130, fo. 195 (12 Sept. 1439).

[72] *Provvisioni* 111, fos. 198v–200 (13 Dec. 1421).

[73] *Provvisioni* 116, fo. 32v (27 May 1426). The stringency of this rule is indicated by Giovanni dell' Antella's efforts to get leave to return to Florence in 1465. He had to resort to a direct appeal to Piero de' Medici (*Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato,* XXI, 33).

[74] *Provvisioni* 119, fos. 189–191 (14 Sept. 1428). The rent was paid by the city treasurer of Pisa (*Provvisioni* 120, fo. 203v, 27 Feb. 1430) and was 100 florins a year. The palace was bought by the canal officials out of the funds of the Consuls in 1464 (*Balie* 32, fo. 8, 28 Dec. 1463).

[75] *Provvisioni* 132, fo. 375v (28 Feb. 1442).

[76] *Ibid.,* 143, fo. 208 (25 Aug. 1452).

[77] *Ibid.,* 131, fo. 44 (25 May 1440).
Ibid., 155, fo. 10 (18 Apr. 1464) and fo. 110 (30 Aug. 1464).

[78] The lists in the *Tratte* of the holders of the office of *Provveditore* of the Consuls are not complete, but we know from other sources of at least two occasions when the office was suspended to save money (*Balie* 27, fo. 81, 30 Jan. 1453 and *Balie* 29, fo. 93, 12 Jan. 1459).

[79] *Provvisioni* 143, fo. 76 (27 Apr. 1452).

guilds, and the remaining one from representatives of the lesser guilds.[80] This broad basis of the Consuls in the guilds is a further indication of their position with relation to general commercial and economic affairs. In October 1422 the number of candidates presented by each of the five major guilds was increased from four to ten;[81] no Prior or *collegio* could be among those nominated.[82]

In 1426 at the same time as three of the Consuls were established in Pisa, the method of selection was changed to the traditional Florentine one of drawing from the *borsa*.[83] Special *borse* were prepared by means of successive scrutinies by the guilds and the *Signoria* of suitable members of the guilds. One *borsa* was prepared for each of the five major guilds and one for all the fifteen lesser guilds, and from these the Consuls were drawn.[84] At the same time the salary of the Consuls in Pisa was put at 45 florins a month each. This decision to use the *borsa* method for the appointment of the Consuls in 1426, has been completely ignored by historians. Hitherto Grunzweig[85] and Masi[86] have dated the change-over in method to 1445, and Sapori states that it occurred in 1441 when the number of Consuls was once more reduced to six.[87] But in fact all the *provvisioni* between 1429 and 1445 dealing with the appointment of the Consuls refer to the *borsa* system and the decisive change comes in 1426, not in either of the later years.[88]

For the six years following 1435 a new system was introduced to allow for the new

[80] Provvisioni 111, fos. 198v–200 (13 Dec. 1421). '. . . Item, quod ad electionem suprascriptorum Sex procedatur hoc modo, videlicet; quot quelibet infrascriptarum quinque maiorum Artium, videlicet, Kalismale, Cambii, Lane, Porte Sancte Marie, Medicorum et Spetiariorum, eligere debeat de hominibus sue Artis, popularibus et Guelfis, quator, quos ydoneos, probos et expertos esse crediderit et voluerit; et similiter quelibet quindecim Artium restantium, dempta Arte Iudicum et Notariorum, eligere de hominibus suis, popularibus et guelfis, duos quos magis ydoneos esse crediterit, in totum triginta; et quelibet ipsarum Artium suos electos referre debeat et presentare in scriptis dominis Prioribus artium et Vexillifero iustitie. Qui domini Priores et Vexillifer teneantur et debeant sua Collegia convocare, et inter se et eos in numeris sufficientibus congregatos, quemlibet predictorum, per dictas Artes relatorum, ponere ad partitum singulariter et per se; et ille unus ex quatuor relatis per quemlibet quinque maiorum Artium predictarum, et similiter ille unus ex quatuor relatis per quindecim Artes predictas, qui numero fabarum nigrarum in tali partito ceteris suis sotiis prevalebit (dummodo ipsorum quisque obtinere debeat in suo partito per xxv fabas nigras ex eis ad minus, et toties proponantur), quod ipse unus obtineat et prevaleat; et si concurrentes essent, iterum proponantur soli concurrentes, et prevalens ex eis accipiatur. Qui in totum sex sic electi intelligantur esse illi officiales Consules maris de quibus supra dicitur; eo salvo, quod de ipsis Sex non possit esse nisi unus de eadem stirpe, domo seu consorteria per lineam masculinam.

A. Sapori, *op. cit.*, p. 83, has interpreted this as implying two ballots in which only those candidates who receive 25 votes or more in the first were able to pass on to the second, which was a straight vote. J. Müller, *op. cit.*, having quoted the *provvisione* in full (pp. 279–281), says in his *proemio* '. . . Pel modo dell' elezione era stabilito che ognuna delle *sette Arti maggiori* scegliesse quattro uomini probi e popolani guelfi dell' arte sua; e le altre arti due per ciascuna; i quali tutti erano presentati ai Priori ed al Gonfaloniere di giustizia, che convocati i Collegi, eleggavano a fave bianche e nere i Consoli.' G. F. Pagnini, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 32, makes out that four of the six were elected from the major guilds and two from the others. The errors of both these last two were pointed out by Schaube (*op. cit.*, p. 217), who also draws attention to the ambiguity in the method of election of the one Consul from the lesser guilds. The 30 candidates presented by the guilds were reduced to four by what can only have been some form of intermediate election of which no specific mention is made.

[81] *Provvisioni* 112, fo. 141v (23 Oct. 1422).

[82] *Ibid.*, 113, fo. 142 (2 Oct. 1423).

[83] This system of selecting officials by drawing names out of a bag was very popular in Florence. It gave the impression of complete fairness whilst enabling the ruling clique to control the appointments by screening the names that went into the '*borsa*.'

[84] *Provvisioni* 116, fo. 32v (28 May 1426) and *Provvisioni* 121, fo. 132 (6 Jan. 1431).

[85] A. Grunzweig, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[86] G. Masi, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.

[87] A. Sapori, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[88] The lists of the Consuls to be found in the *Tratte* (79, fos. 95 ff.) commence in the year 1426 with a definite statement that the method of selecting them was extraction from the *borse*. Further reference to the *borsa* system appears in *Provvisioni* 120, fo. 326 (28 Sept. 1429) and 125, fo. 209 (5 Feb. 1435).

situation created by the establishment of the *Magona*.[89] In this period a double system was adopted in which four names were drawn from the *borse* for each vacancy and one from each four was elected by the *Signoria*.[90] At the same time any relation of the *maionieri* was banned from the office of Consul during the period of the *Magona*. The constant alterations in the balance between the two methods of election and extraction of the Consuls, were governed by whether circumstances demanded a display of superficial impartiality in the appointment of officials, or the most suitable and efficient candidates available. At the time of the *Magona* the first essential was to ensure that not only were efficient Consuls chosen to handle this new venture, but also that the luck of the draw did not aid the *maionieri* in getting control of the office.

In February 1441 the Consuls of Pisa were allowed 500 florins a month for salaries and expenses,[91] but in 1445 this was altered to 25 florins a month each, and 8 florins a month each for the Consuls in Florence.[92]

With the Peace of Lodi in 1454 a completely new set of Consuls was appointed and this time 30 names were drawn from the *borse*, and the six Consuls elected from these.[93] On the reintroduction of the biannual appointment of three Consuls in 1462, eighteen were drawn each 6 months and four elected from these. At this stage a further refinement was adopted and these four were again put into a bag and the ultimate three drawn from them.[94] In November 1465, however, perhaps as an indication of the declining importance of the Consuls, it was decided to appoint them by simple extraction.[95]

The next year saw a return to the more complicated system and ten names were to be drawn for each vacancy among the Consuls. From each ten, two were to be elected and their names replaced in a *borsa* for a final draw. This system was abolished in February 1471 and restored again within six months.[96] In 1474, whilst only the Consuls in Pisa were active, the number to be drawn from the *borse* for each vacancy was raised from ten to fifteen,[97] and in 1477, with the restoration of the Florentine consuls, it was raised to twenty.[98] By this means presumably it was hoped to find better Consuls, since the field for the intermediate election was widened. This measure was accompanied by an increase in salary for the Consuls in Pisa from 20 to 30 florins a month.

The Seventeen Reformers in 1491 reintroduced a simple election of the Consuls of Pisa by the *Signoria* and the Council of Seventy. In alternate years

[89] A *magona* in the usual sense of the word was a company formed for the furtherance of shipping ventures, and in 1435 the Commune leased three galleys to a group of private contractors known as the *Magona Vecchia* for five years. Two of these galleys were to make voyages to Flanders and England and one to Constantinople. The contractors were to receive a loan of 15,000 florins in the first 3 years of the contract to assist them in the prelininary stages, a loan which was to be repaid in instalments as soon as the contract terminated. The '*maionieri*' were responsible for sending two galleys to the North in 1436 and 1438, and then the contract was prematurely terminated with the consent of both parties in 1439. It has not been possible as yet to ascertain the names of any of the partners in the *Magona Vecchia*. *Provvisioni* 126, fo. 135 (30 July 1435); G. Bonolis, *Sulle maone genovesi e su una maona fiorentina sconosciuta*, Florence, 1907.

[90] *Provvisioni* 126, fo, 207 (30 Aug. 1435).

[91] *Ibid.*, 131, fo. 322 (27 Feb. 1441).

[92] *Balie* 26, fos. 82v–83 (27 Jan. 1445).

[93] *Provvisioni* 145, fo. 55 (20 May 1454).

[94] *Ibid.*, 153, fo. 38 (17 May 1462). This must have had the effect of destroying the pattern of strict representation of the guilds.

[95] *Provvisioni* 156, fo. 218 (12 Nov. 1465).

[96] *Balie* 31, fo. 15 (24 July 1471).

[97] *Provvisioni* 165, fo. 1 (5 April 1474).

[98] *Ibid.*, 168, fo. 120 (23 Oct. 1477).

the three Consuls were to be made up of two from the major guilds and one from the minor, and three from the major. Their salary remained at 30 florins a month.[99]

4. *Finances.* The Florentines in establishing their communal galley system showed their intentions quite clearly by appointing as first *provveditore* of the Consuls, Taddeo di Piero di Cienni, a man who had served as a factor in Venice for many years and who could organise the Florentine galleys along the lines of those of Venice.[100] The new system certainly resembled that of Venice in many ways, even if it never attained the same extent and efficiency. One of the reasons for the comparatively limited scope of the Florentine galley system was a continual shortage of money, and throughout the documentary material of the Sea Consuls complaints on this score form one of the principal themes. When the office of the Consuls was set up no direct provision of money was made for the galley system, except for 1200 florins a year from the funds of the Studio Fiorentino for the building of two war galleys a year.[101] There is reference to a grant to be paid by the *Monte*, but no specific sum is stated until 1425, when it appears that 7400 florins was the figure and that the *Camera del Comune* was to become responsible for paying it from various existing funds.[102] This allotment varied both in size and in regularity of payment throughout the century,[103] but it was not the only source of income for the Consuls. They could also rely on the money forthcoming from the hire of the galleys, from fines imposed on offenders against the galley regulations, from a proportion of the *Tratte del Grano*,[104] and of the fines imposed for *danni dati*.[105] But all these sources were unreliable and continual recourse had to be made to loans, special advances, and occasional inroads on funds set aside for other purposes.

In March 1446 7,400 florins was still the basic allotment, but to obtain it the *Camera del Comune* was already having to provide 4,000 florins out of its own funds and this was becoming increasingly difficult.[106] During the war period of 1452, when the galleys were temporarily at a standstill, the Consuls were expected to pay

[99] *Balie* 39, fo. 71 (28 June 1491).

[100] G. Cambi, *Istorie fiorentine*. Published by Ildefonso di Ser Luigi in *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, Florence, 1785, vols XX–XXIII, at vol. I, p. 157.

[101] *Provvisioni* 111, fos. 198v–200 (13 Dec. 1421).

[102] *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 9 (30 Dec. 1425). Cambi, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 155 states that 4,000 *scudi* were to be spent on the first galleys before March 1422. The 7,400 florins of the grant after 1425 was to be made up as follows: 2,000 from fines imposed by the *Podestà* and *Capitano del Popolo* of Florence for unauthorised carrying of arms, playing of forbidden games, infringements of curfew regulations, and the proceeds of the tax on those who renounced a public post; 900 florins from fines imposed by officials in the *contado* of Pisa; 2,190 florins from the *Cassa delle Condotte* of the funds set aside for the payment of mercenary garrisons; 1,900 florins from the same source of the funds set aside for the payment of castellans. None of these sources of income was stable; hence the need for the *Camera* to supplement the income of the Consuls after only a few years.

[103] Between 28 June 1465 and 31 May 1469, the Consuls in Pisa received 57,200 lire (14,300 florins) —less than half the intended income (*Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. VII, fos. 7 ff.).

[104] The *Tratta del Grano* was the duty charged on the import and export of corn. It seems to have been used in Pisa as a form of reserve fund, which was appropriated in emergencies by any office.

[105] The fines for *danni dati* were fines imposed for the infringement of the regulations governing the pasturing of animals, and for damage caused by such animals or otherwise to public works or private property.

[106] *Balie* 26, fo. 127 (24 Mar. 1446) and fos. 151v–152v (20 Mar. 1447). A year earlier the *Camera* had attempted to avoid this 4,000 subsidy by cutting the pay of the garrisons throughout the dominions, and using the proceeds from that, and from a levy of 100 florins a month from the *Opera del Duomo* for supporting the Consuls (*Balie* 26, fo. 94, 8 Apr. 1445).

over 1,000 florins to the Monte.[107] This parsimonious tendency towards attempting to draw profit from every lull in trade, prevented the Consuls from using such surplus money to recoup their overburdened purse.

Some idea of the extent of the income derived from the auctions of the galleys can be gained from a study of the auction prices, but by 1460 it was becoming increasingly difficult to get any offers for the galleys, and the Consuls had to take to promising prizes instead of receiving payments. The amounts raised in the auctions varied enormously and much depended upon the international situation, the destination of the proposed voyage, the number of galleys to be sent, and the stopping places which had been announced for the voyage. In the 1440's 5,100 florins were being paid for the hire of two galleys to go to England and Flanders, but in 1460 interest had fallen to such an extent that the Consuls announced that bids of less than 100 florins would be ignored. In the later '60s a certain revival of interest is indicated by successful offers of 528 florins for two Flanders galleys in 1466, 1,000 in 1467, and 1,253 in 1475. At this same period the Eastern galleys seem to have been more popular, for in 1467 the two Constantinople galleys fetched 1,301 florins, in 1468 3,000, and in 1475 1,701. The single galleys which went to Catalonia and Morocco seem to have been the most consistently popular, with successful bids of 875 florins in 1442, 2,930 for a double voyage in the same year, 1,755 in 1465, 512 in 1467, 817 in 1469, and 900 in 1474. In the early 1460's, due probably to the unsettled nature of the times, the Consuls were forced to offer subsidies with the galleys, and the bidder who asked for the least was awarded the contract.[108]

The financial difficulties became increasingly apparent after 1455, and there can be no doubt that shortage of money was one of the principal causes of the decline of the system. The difficulties increased as the responsibilities of the Consuls increased, and the added expense involved in the supervision of fortifications, payment of garrisons, work in the *contado*, and repairs and building in Pisa itself, were only partly offset by special allotments of funds. In 1423 a special grant was made to them to pay for the work they were to undertake on the defences of Pisa and the ports.[109] In 1429 all merchants possessing houses in Pisa had to pay 6 florins a year rent to the Consuls.[110] This *provvisione* coincided with an order to the Consuls to undertake the repair and upkeep of the palaces of the Captain and *Podesta*. In 1435 the *Monte* undertook to lend 15,000 florins for fitting out the galleys of the *Magona*,[111] and a further *Monte* loan in 1439 had to be paid back by heavy inroads into the proceeds of the Pisan taxes,[112] a source of revenue usually denied to the Consuls. In 1455 the Consuls had to borrow 3,500 florins from the *Cinque del Balzello*,[113] and two years later they were given more permanent assistance by the transfer of the income set aside for the improvements to the defences of Empoli and Montevarchi.[114] However in 1458 the *Monte* had to come forward

[107] *Balie* 27, fo. 31 (17 Sept. 1452).

[108] Auction prices for the '60's are to be found in *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. VII. See also: *Provvisioni* 136, fo. 183v (28 Sept. 1445); 150, fo. 204v (4 Jan. 1460); 166, fo. 67v (7 June 1475); 166, fo. 69 (7 June 1475).

[109] G. F. Pagnini, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 34–35; A. Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

[110] *Provvisioni* 120, fo. 247 (16 July 1429).

[111] *Provvisioni* 126, fo. 137–138v (30 July 1435).

[112] *Arch. dei Contratti* 280, fo. 78 (26 Aug. 1439).

[113] *Provvisioni* 146, fo. 132v (14 June 1455).

[114] *Provvisioni* 148, fo. 122 (6 May 1457).

again with 11,000 florins from the Florentine taxes to help with the galleys,[115] and the *Ufficiali del Carne* were called upon to hand over 400 florins a year for five years.[116]

The special grants in 1459 were even larger than before. All payments of interest due to the *Parte Guelfa* on its credits held by the *Monte*, were transferred to the Consuls,[117] and a levy of 9 denari per lira was made on the salaries of all Florentine officials outside Florence for the benefit of trade.[118] Finally a loan of 4,000 florins was secured from the canal officials.[119] In the next year the Consuls had to take 3,000 florins from the funds provided for the building of the new citadel of Pisa,[120] and the Councils also voted them the money from the last two subsidies raised in Florence.[121]

And so it went on, with the Florentine government always reluctant to spend enough money to set the galley system on its feet and enable it to start paying for itself. In 1465 the 9 denari levy on salaries was revoked and replaced by grants from the income of the canal officials,[122] and in 1476 one-fifth of all fines imposed by the *Otto di Custodia* were granted to the Consuls,[123] who were in debt to the extent of 10,000 lire.[124] But by this time it was obvious that further attempts to bring the system to life by temporary and inadequate advances of money were useless. With the abandonment of the galley system, the bulk of the income of the Consuls was transferred to the *Monte*.[125]

The real defect in the system of financing the galleys was a common one in Florentine institutions; undue parsimony in the early stages, when the expenditure of considerable sums of money to get the system going might have paid dividends later on. But the Florentines hoped that the galleys would practically pay for themselves from the start, and by the time they realised that they would not do this, the sporadic attempts to subsidise them were insufficient to do more than postpone the inevitable collapse. The Sea Consuls, like true Sindbads, had been saddled with a task that was beyond their limited resources, and as an important commercial institution they did not survive the fall of their burden.

Many of the details of the duties and functions of the Sea Consuls of Florence have been touched upon only lightly in the present article. Only a fuller study of the galley system as a whole (a study which the writer hopes to have occasion to publish in the near future) will make it possible to describe in greater detail the responsibilities of the Consuls in regard to the building, auctioning and despatching of the galleys, the appointment of galley officials, and the regulation of their trade. A description of the office itself, however, and its history as one of the components of Florentine government is a necessary introduction to a study of the more strictly economic problem of Florentine commerce and the galley system in the fifteenth century.

M. E. Mallett.

[115] *Ibid.*, 149, fo. 126 (15 July 1458).
[116] *Balie* 29, fo. 54 (6 Oct. 1458).
[117] *Provvisioni* 150, fo. 84 (18 Aug. 1459).
[118] *Arch. Consoli del Mare*, Reg. III, fo. 129 (15 June 1459).
[119] *Provvisioni* 150, fo. 162v (8 Dec. 1459).
[120] *Ibid.*, 151, fo. 40v (25 Apr. 1460).
[121] *Ibid.*, 151, fo. 227v (17 Sept. 1460).
[122] *Ibid.*, 156, fo. 212 (12 Nov. 1465).
[123] This grant is referred to in *Provvisioni* 177, fo. 43 (16 Aug. 1486).
[124] *Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato*, XXV, 298 (19 Jan. 1475).
[125] *Provvisioni* 171, fo. 20 (3 Aug. 1480).

APPENDIX

Provvisioni 113, fo. 51v (22 June 1423).

Septimo provisionem infrascriptam super infrascriptis omnibus et singulis deliberatam et factam per dictos dominos priores vexilliferum Justitiae gonfalonerios societatum populi et duodecim bonos viros comunis Florentiae secundum ordinem dicti comunis. Que talis est, videlicet, ut reipublicae Florentiae pecunia utile expendatur et gerendam per officium consulum maris salubrius dirigant Magnifici et potentes domini domini priores artium et Vexillifer Justitiae populi et comunis Florentiae. Habita super his invicem et una cum officiis gonfaloneriorum societatum populi et duodecim bonorum virorum dicti comunis deliberationes solemni et demum inter ipsos omnes in sufficientibus numeris congregatos in palatio populi Florentiae, praemisso facto et celebrato solemni et segreto scruptinio et obtento partito ad fabas nigras et albas secundum ordinem dicti comunis eorum proprio motu pro utilitate comunis eiusdem et omni via jure et modo quibus melius potuerunt providerunt ordinaverunt et deliberaverunt die decimo sexto mensis Junii Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo vigesimo tertio Indictione prima.

Que prudentes et discreti viri Consules maris dicti comunis teneantur et debeant per totum presentem mensem Junii eligere et deputare duos ex eis quos volent, et simile ipsorum immediati successores infra primos otto dies sui officii duos ex ipsis tunc in officio existentibus et eligere et deputare et huius modi electionem facere sub pena librarum mille non observanti auferenda et comuni Florentiae applicanda. Quiquidem electi teneantur et debeant infra otto dies a die electionis proximos futuros ire ad civitatem pisarum et ibidem seu in locis existentibus ultimis pisas versus mare familiariter et continue habitare, videlicet, duo eligendi durante presenti mense per totum tempus sui officii. Et duo eligendi per successores durante toto mense aprilis proximo futuro et inde non discedere seu ad civitatem Florentinam seu loca propinquora venire durante tempore dicto sub pena librarum mille cuiuslibet non observanti auferenda et comuni Florentiae applicanda. Eo tamen salvo et limitato que quicumque et quotiescumque deliberaretur per dominos priores artium et Vexilliferum Justitiae populi et comunis Florentiae gonfalonerios societatum populi et duodecim bonos viros dicti comunis praemisso scriptinio et obtento partito ad minimum per duas partes ex eis ipsos aut aliquem ex eis posse redire seu alibus habitare stare aut morari seu daretur aut concederetur licentia discendendi tunc et eo casu pro eo quod deliberatum fuit seu data licentia, id possit et debeat observari licite et imprimum predictis supra dispositis aut aliquo ipsorum.

FURTHER DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCE OF *APULIA ET TERRA LABORIS* DURING THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR HENRY VI.

In a previous article[1] I referred to the documents given below, to establish the abeyance of the office of master constable and master justiciar of *Apulia et Terra Laboris* following Henry VI's conquest of the Sicilian kingdom in 1194, and to prove that Count Berard of Lesina had been entirely successful in switching his allegiance from the royal to the imperial side. I then undertook to print the full texts, and I am most grateful to the British School at Rome for giving me the opportunity of doing it.

I

1195, *October, indiction* 14, *ann. reg.* 1

The judges of Mercogliano, acting on instructions from Conrad Duke of Spoleto *et totius regni Sicilie vicarius* sent to them through the abbot of Montevergine, assign to Geoffrey of Sant'Angelo a Scala the tenement of his uncle, the late Judge Abminade.

V. *PBSR*, XXIV, 1956, pp. 102–3.

In nomine Dei eterni et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Anno ab incarnatione eius millesimo centesimo nonagesimo quinto et anno primo in regno Sicilie, regnante domino nostro Henrico invictissimo imperatore Romanorum, in mense Octobris, indictione quarte decime (*sic*).

Cum nos Riccardus et Blasius iudices Merculiani[2] in resistente iudicio adessemus venit Goffridus abitator in castello Sancti Angeli de Scala[3] una cum Henrico fratre suo, qui olim filii fuerunt Fegulinie[4] quondam sororis iudicis Abminade, deferentes litteras domino nostro et venerabili abbati Montis Virginis, que ita legebantur: Corradus Dei et imperiali gratia dux Spoleti[5] et totius regni Sicilie vicarius, venerabili abbati Montis Virginis dilecto patri suo in Christo salutem et amoris affectum. Significavit nobis lator presentium Goffridus de Sancto Angelo, quod patitur iniustum de tenimento quondam iudicis Abminade avunculi sui, et quia idem Goffridus propinquior suorum consanguineorum dicto avunculo remansit, sicut dicit, mandamus ex imperiali parte firmiter precipientes quatenus, si ita est ut ipse sit propinquior ei aliorum consanguineorum, sibi predictum tenimentum assignetis et neque ab aliquo exinde molestiam fieri permittas. Predictus dominus noster abbas per dominum Robbertum venerabilem monachum et prepositum dicti almi cenobii litteras suprascriptas nobis delatavit, ut hinc inde quod iustum esset sententiali decisione terminaremus.

[1] 'An administrative document from Apulia,' in *Studies in Italian Medieval History presented to Miss E. M. Jamison* (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. xxiv, 1956), p. 102, ff.

[2] Mercogliano, province of Avellino.

[3] S. Angelo a Scala, province of Avellino.

[4] Written 'Fegulie,' and the 'l' has an abbrev. sign.

[5] *PBSR*, art. cit., p. 102.

Audito itaque precepto domini illustrissimi ducis apud Urritam,[6] ubi curiam (*sic*) exinde congregabatur, adsistente dicto domino preposito, qui curiam manutenebat, ad consilium cum multitudine veterum et bonorum hominum seu sacerdotum perressimus, rei veritatem inquirentes cui iustior dicto tenimento (*sic*) pertineretur, aut si quispiam ex eorum antecessoribus quolibet modo ammisicset. Unde pari consilio una voce responderunt, nullum scire predictum tenimentum ab aliquo iusto ordine ammisisse, nec tamen rationabiliter quispiam quam eis pertinere. Sed antequam hec omnino diffinitiva deffinitione (*sic*)[7] terminaretur, licet diutius hinc inde fuerit disputatum, secundum quod a legibus peribitum est, ut de gradu in gradum parentela enumeretur, ipsi predicti fratres prossimiores inveniuntur. Reddeuntes edenim a consilio una cum Rogerio primicerio et vicario, Jonathasio sacerdote, Guillelmo de Maiurana, Guillelmo de sancto Angelo olim iudice, Matheo de Ruscinio, Boamundo notario, Henrico Pellerio, Johanne Falcone, Falco Follicola, Petro de Mauro, Alferio Jacommadii et aliis quampluribus, eorum consilio iudicium diffinitionis taliter prebuimus: ut supradicto preposito ex parte curie placeret, ex quo prossimiores aderant in parentela, subsequentes gradus genitali iure et secundum usus predicti Merculiani, eis predictum tenimentum pertineret.

Cumque benignus hac religiosus hac venerabilis dominus sepedictus prepositus, sequens quod prophetica ammonet vaticinatio 'diligere iusticiam odire iniquitatem,' quod vidit equitatem adesse, per fustem quem in manus tenebat, adiuncto precepto domini ducis, ex universo tenimento, quod olim fuit dicti iudicis Abminade patrui eorum, tam domorum quam et poscessionum, terrarum, montis et plani in toto tenimento Merculiani seu alibi iure pertinens eis, deinceps predicti germani, vel eorum heredes, habeant et possedant et per dictum fustem eos investivit, ut per defensionem dicti almi cenobii ab omni parte semper existat. Quare ad memoriam futuri temporis et ad tutelam predictorum et eorum heredum presens scriptum, per manus IOANNIS notarii, nos qui supra nominati iudices scribere precepimus. (notarial sign)

EGO QUI SUPRA RICCARDUS IUDEX
EGO QUI SUPRA BLASIUS IUDEX

Original Archivium Montisvirginis, vol. 13, f. 143. Abbazia di Montevergine, Regesto delle pergamene, ed. Giovanni Mongelli, O.S.B. in *Ministero dell'Interno*: *Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato* XXV, Roma 1956, vol. 1, no. 989.

II

1196,[8] *December*,[9] *indiction* 14, *ann. reg.* 2 *Rignano*

Hugh de Fenuculo and Abbot Bartholomew of Santa Sofia di Benevento, in the presence of the Count of Lesina and others, record their agreement on the terms by which Hugh and his heirs will hold from the said monastery the lands of his *patrimonium*, given to Santa Sofia by the emperor Henry VI.

[6] Loreto province of Avellino.
[7] The reading seems to be clear.
[8] The word *nonagesimo* is missing in the text.
[9] The day of the month ought to be before 25 December, when Henry's third regnal year for Sicily began.
[10] In transcribing and interpreting this document and the next I have received invaluable assistance from Miss E. M. Jamison and Professor Zazo.

V. *PBSR*, XXIV, 1956, pp. 104–5; also below, Appendix III.

[In nomine Domini. A]nno dominice incarnationis millesimo centesimo sexto, et secundo anno regnante domino Henrico Dei gratia gloriossimo et invictissimo Romanorum imperatore, et rege Sicilie, et semper augusto, [mense Decembris, quartadecim]a indictione.

Presentibus domino Berardo Dei et imperiali gratia comite Alesine, Raone Troie et Henrico Siponti judicibus, Jonatha puplico notario, Gualterio Panis et Vini comes [tabulo,] Symone de Sangro, et aliis quam pluribus viris ydoneis ad hoc vocatis testibus.

Ego Hugo de Fenuculo[11] quia serenissimus dominus meus imperator Henricus concessit et donavit quon[dam Guilielmo,[12]] venerabili abbati monasterii Sancte Sophie Beneventane, pro parte eiusdem monasterii, totum patrimonium meum in recompensacionem multorum dampnorum, que idem abbas substinuerat pro honore et serv[icio suo], libere ut in privilegio indulto exinde eidem monasterio ab imperiali magestate videtur apercius contineri. Altercando nunc de eodem patrimonio meo cum domino Bartholomeo venerabili abbate eiusdem monasterii Sancte Sophie, lice[t] possem alleg[a]re ei contrarium per aliqua iura mea, volens tamen inde pacisci pacifice cum eodem ad hanc concordiam, auctorizante et volente Adeliczia[13] uxore mea deveni cum ipso domino Bartholomeo venerabili abbate de dicto patrimonio meo, videlicet, quod ego predictus Hugo et heredes mei legitimi ex me descendentes utriusque sexus, et ipsorum heredum heredes legitimi masculini sexus tantum ab eisdem descendentes, debemus tenere et reco[gnoscere] terras omnes patrimonii nostri, tam in honoribus quam in servicio, iuribus, et pertinenciis suis, a predicto cenobio Sancte Sophie de Benevento. Exceptis duobus castris dodarii predicte uxoris mee Adeliczie, videlicet Canianum et Sanc[tus Quiricus],[14] que similiter eandem voluntatem quam et ego de dictis castris dodarii sui gerit.[15] Pro quo patrimonio nostro debemus et tenemus curtiare,[16] per nos aut per nostrum missum, honorifice quolibet anno predictum dominum abbat[em] et successores

[11] Son of Thomas de Fenuculo, *Catalogus baronum*, ed C. Fimiani, *Commentariolus de subfeudis ex iure longobardico et neapolitano . . .*, Naples, 1787, and forthcoming publication by the Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, ed. E. M. Jamison, § 982. Fenuculo is Finocchio on the Calore, province of Benevento. The ruins of its castle are visible from the railway after passing Vitulano heading towards Naples, v. A. Meomartini, *I comuni della provincia di Benevento*, Benevento, 1907, p. 222; and v. E. M. Jamison, Cat. *Bar.* 981.* It was held in *baroniam*. Frederick II, 1223 July (printed E. Winkelmann, *Acta imperii inedita saeculi XIII et XIV*, Innsbruck, 1885, no. 257) shows that the barony too was granted to S. Sofia by Henry VI as part of the compensation for losses sustained in his service.

[12] Abbot William, Bartholmew's predecessor, was with the emperor during the siege of Naples in 1191, v. D. Clementi, 'Calendar of the diplomas of the Hohenstaufen emperor Henry VI concerning the kingdom of Sicily' (in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, XXXV, Tübingen, 1955), nos. 8, 13.

[13] Daughter of Gentilis de Caniano, v. Archivio Storico Provinciale di Benevento, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 10, no. 28.

[14] Cagnano, province of Foggia, and Santo Chirico now a group of houses *c.* 2 km. from the junction of the Torrente Celone with the Torrente Candelaro. Both places are near Rignano. For Cagnano and Adelisia's father Gentilis de Caniano, v. E. M. Jamison, 'La carriera del logotheta Riccardo di Taranto' . . . in *Atti del II Congresso Storico Pugliese e del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Salentini*, Bari, 1952, pp. 7(20), 23.

[15] A document, dated S. Quirico 1196 December, Archivio Storico Provinciale di Benevento, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 10, no. 28, records an agreement between Adelisia and Abbot Bartholomew, to which Hugh in his capacity of his wife's munduald gave his consent. Under this agreement Adelisia gave her *patrimonium*, consisting of the above two castles, to S. Sofia on the same terms as Hugh had given his; the census for them to be comprised in the sum agreed with Hugh. In return, in the event of her husband's death taking place before hers, she obtained the right to keep both his *patrimonium* and hers, before these lands passed to their heirs or devolved to the monastery, always provided the census was duly paid.

[16] To pay a census v. *infra*: *curtiagio vel solutione census*.

eius, pro parte prenominati monasterii, in festo nativitatis Domini, et in paschali resurrecione Domini, et debemus etiam tenemus dare pro predicto patrimonio palafridum unum de sex unciarum auri annuatim pro cu[rtiagio] prenominato abbati, et successoribus eius pro parte monasterii memorati. Nobis omnibus sine heredibus legitimis masculini sexus deficientibus, vel per triennium a predicte curtiagio vel solutione census cessantibus, totum patrimonium predictum integre et libere ad dictum monasterium Sancte Sophie deveniat, ipsumque habeat, teneat et possideat in perpetuum, libere et quiete, faciendo inde abbates, qui pro tempore fuerint, quod pro utilitate ipsius monasterii viderint faciendum, sine cuiuscumque contradictione seu requisitione. Pro quo patrimonio fidelitatis et hominii iusiurandum eidem monasterio ego facere debeo et similiter supradicti heredes mei, de quibus omnibus [predictis] adimplendis et non removendis obligo me et meos heredes prenominato domino abbati et successoribus eius, sub pena sexcentarum unciarum auri predicta omnia actendere et inviolabiliter observare. Prestito a me pro inde ad sancta Dei evangelia iuramento, quod si ego vel mei heredes quesierimus vel temptaverimus aliquo modo predicta omnia infringere, aut contrare (*sic*), seu minuere, et non adimpleverimus ea omnia integre sicuti preleguntur, componere et solvere teneamus predictas sexcentas uncias, medietatem curie et alteram medietatem monasterio nominato, statutis predictis omnibus firmis manentibus. Et quia predicta omnia robur optineant firmitatis presens scriptum publicum iuxi per manus Jonathe puplici notarii ad cautelam et perpetuam securitatem predicti cenobii fieri, auctoritate judicum predictorum. Hoc scriptum scripsi ego, Jonathas puplicus notarius, quia rog[atus] interfui et meo signo signavi, subscripcionibus predictorum domini comitis, judicum et testium roboratum. Actum apud Sanctam Mariam in Christo in territorio Remiani,[17] feliciter (notarial sign).

Nos Berardus Gentilis Dei et imperiali gratia comes Alesine, qui supra hec vera cognoscimus inter enim fuimus.

+ Signum manus Gualterii Panis et Vini, comestabuli militum domini comitis Berardi Gentilis Alesine.

+ Signum sancte crucis quod ego Symon de Sangro propria manu impripsi (*sic*).

+ EGO HENRICUS SIPONTI JUDEX.

+ EGO MAGISTER RAO JUDEX JURISQUE PROFESSOR.

Original, Archivio Storico Provinciale di Benevento, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 10, no. 1. To make the parchment fit neatly into the volume into which it had been stitched the right-hand edge was trimmed and so the letters at the end of certain lines were cut off. On the left-hand side the edge of the parchment is slightly torn in two places; elsewhere the writing is fresh and clear, the hand being a diplomatic minuscule becoming slightly pointed.

III

1196, *December*,[18] *indiction* 14, *ann. reg.* 2 *Rignano*

Hugh de Fenuculo[19] and Abbot Bartholomew of S. Sofia di Benevento place on record the terms of an agreement made between them in the presence of the Count

[17] The chapel of Madonna di Cristo, Rignano, province of Foggia.

[18] *Supra*, p. 171, n. 9.

[19] *Supra*, p. 172, n. 11.

of Lesina and others. Their charter, quite apart from the damage it has sustained, is not very explicit, but it is clear from their agreement of the same date (Appendix II) that at a time unspecified, although prior to the death of Bartholomew's predecessor Abbot William, the emperor Henry VI had conceded, *libere*[19a], the whole of Hugh's *patrimonium* to S. Sofia, as compensation for the losses the monastery had sustained in the imperial cause. In a similar grant made to the archiepiscopal church of Capua, for which the imperial privilege[20] survives, the concession was qualified by the words *salvo mandato et ordinatione nostra et nostrorum heredum*, a clause which seems to have been employed, as Scheffer-Boichorst pointed out,[21] when the emperor did not wish his gift to be irrevocable.

It is therefore possible that the imperial privilege to Santa Sofia contained this clause. If so, it must have been one of the reasons why the abbot thought it advisable to come to terms with Hugh. It is also possible that Hugh was still in actual possession of the land, so that the monastery was not getting any advantage from the imperial concession made in its favour. On the other hand Hugh's occupation of the land was temporarily at any rate illegal. Both sides were willing, therefore, to come to terms, and the agreement set out in Appendix II was reached. It laid down that Hugh and his heirs should hold his one-time patrimony from S. Sofia in return for fealty, homage and the payment of a census, while in the event of no heir surviving the land was to devolve to Santa Sofia.

It appears, however, from the present charter (Appendix III) that, if this agreement were to stand, the emperor had to be persuaded to allow a change of responsibility for the service and the jurisdiction of the land in question. The charter contains, therefore, a subsidiary agreement regulating the interim relations between Hugh and the abbot. The terms arranged were that Hugh and his heirs should hold the land from S. Sofia, if Bartholomew could secure from Henry written consent to the suggested changes. In the event of the abbot obtaining this consent, Hugh undertook to hand over to the monastery forthwith the towns of Caprara and Torrepalazzo. If, however, the abbot failed to take the necessary action, then the agreement was to be prejudicial to the interests of neither of the parties. But, on the other hand, if the abbot made the request and the emperor refused to grant it, Bartholomew agreed to begin fresh negotiations to find an alternative solution.[22]

They then went on to provide that if while the above proceedings were in progress the emperor should grant the land to Hugh *absolute*, thereby eliminating Santa Sofia's claim to it, he would be under no obligation to stand by the previous agreement with the abbot. Similarly if Henry gave the property to Bartholomew and his monastery *absolute*, thus making his gift irrevocable and thereby eliminating any chance Hugh might have had of recovering his patrimony, the agreement would not be binding on them.

[19a] For an explanation of the technical meaning of *libere v.* D. Clementi, 'Sulle concessioni de terre dell' imperatore Enrico VI nel Regno di Sicilia' in *Atti dell II° Congresso Storico della Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia*, 1959, forthcoming publication.

[20] Clementi, *Calendar*, no. 130.

[21] 'Das Gesetz Kaiser Friederich's II. 'De resignandis privilegiis,' *Sitzungsberichte der k. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, 1900, p. 136.

[22] Cf. text of charter, which at this point is badly damaged.

In nomine Domini. Anno dominice incarnationis millesimo centesimo nonagesimo sexto et secundo anno regnante domino Henrico Dei gratia gloriosissimo et invictissimo Romanorum imperatore, et rege Sicilie, et semper augusto, mense Decembris quartadecima indictione.

Presentibus domino Berardo Dei et imperiali gratia comite Alesine, Raone Troie et He[nrico] Siponti judicibus, et aliis viris idoneis sub notatis.

Ego Bartholomeus, Dei gratia Sancte Sophie abbas indignus, et ego Hugo de Fenuculo de al[tercatione inter] [[1 *cm. torn off the edge of the document*;[23] me Bartholomeum et ?]] me Hugonem ad talem partem concordia devenimus, quod ego predictus Hugo et heredes mei, et heredum heredes legitimi ex nobis descendentes, debemus tenere terras omnis patrimonii nostri a cenobio Sancte Sophie de Benevento, quibus omnibus sine heredibus legitimis deficientibus, totum patrimonium predictum [[*partly torn* 4½ *cm.*; ad monasterium Sancte Sophie ?]] deveniat. Exceptis duobus castellis que duos nepotes meos, si et hoc in obitu meo [mihi] placuerit, habere volo. Qui eodem iure sicut et ego ab ipso monasterio recognoscentes tenebunt. Et exceptis terris dodarii uxoris mee, Adelizie, que similiter eandem voluntatem quam et ego de terris dodarii sui gerit et facturum me spondeo id ipsam adimplere.[24] Et exceptis duobus oppidis, silicet Turre Palatio et Capraria,[25] que postquam dominus imperator suo privilegio vel litteris mihi confermaverit, que inferius denotabuntur, statim monasterium ipsa castella tenebit et possidebit. Pro quibus supradictis terris fidelitatis et hominii iusiurandum eidem monasterio facere debeo. Predictis [pactionibus] [[torn off 3 cm.; non stare debemus ?]] ego vel heredes mei tenentes, nisi tu dominus abbas quod mihi spopondisti compleveris quod inferius denotatur; set et nunc in presenti corporaliter [iurando] me predicta adimpleturum [[*torn off* 3 *cm.*; astringo, si tu ?]] complere poteris.

Ego quoque prenominatus abbas Bartholomeus debeo cum domino imperatore tractare ut absque ullo servitio terras patrimonii tui prefati Hugonis [[*torn off* 6 *cm.*; *presumably concerned with where and by whom pleas civil will be heard*[26]]] [set] homines ipsarum terrarum justitiariis respondebunt de commissis. Que duo capitula, ut optinere possis, cum domino imperatore studebo [[*torn off* 7 *cm.*; tractare ut tu Hugo de Fenuculo ?]] inde privilegium aut litteras imperiales optineas. De quibus sine fraude adimplendis, iureiurando corporaliter prestito per manum Johannis [dicti] [[*torn off* 6 *cm.*; *presumably John's surname and church*[26a]]] me astrinxi. Quod si impetrare nequivero, nec tibi nec mihi hec concordia prejudicet. Iterum si dominus imperator predicta non concedat, debeo tibi prefato domino Hugoni de [[*torn off* 2½ *cm.*; *presumably they will again discuss terms*]] quam de primo facto ipsarum terrarum tractem.

Interim tamen dum factum predictum ad effectum perducatur si dominus

[23] The double brackets correspond to a tear on the right-hand side of the document, where the notary had a margin of 1 cm., so the measurements are given less this margin; 'Ego' in Jonathan's hand takes *c.* ½ cm. The words supplied for these gaps are therefore a matter of mere guesswork. The single brackets indicate words where the reading was uncertain because the ink was faint.

[24] v. *supra*, p. 172, nn. 13, 14.

[25] Caprara and Torrepalazzo, 3½ km. from Benevento; v. S. Borgia, commenting on the gift of both these places to the Augustinian canons of St. Andrew's, Benevento, by William II in 1182, *Memorie istoriche della pontificia città di Benevento*, Rome, 1769, vol. 2, p. 241.

[26] Cf. Frederick II, 1223 July (printed E. Winkelmann, *Acta imperii* no. 257, p. 235) for a parallel adjustment of jurisdiction.

[26a] *Archivio Storico Prov. di Benevento, Fondo S. Sofia* vol. 10, no. 28 gives John's titles as: *dictus Sancti Agatheri, subdiaconus Sancte Beneventane Ecclesie et Fenuculi archipresbiter.*

imperator absolute mihi Hugoni de Fenuculo terras ipsas concessit ni [c] h [il] [[*torn off bare ½ cm., which could read as a blank or as an abbreviation for* nichilominus, *so that two radically different meanings are possible*[27]]] predicte pactioni stare debeo.

Quod et si mihi prefato abbati seu monasterio nostro interim a domino imperatore absolute predicte terre concesse fuerint, similiter predicte conventioni stare [[*torn off* 1 *cm., which could read* non debeo *to match* nichil *or* debeo *to pair with* nichilominus[27]]].

De qua conventione guadiam adinvicem dedimus nobis ipsis ex utraque parte fideiussoribus positis, ut predicte pactioni stare debeamus. Quod si aliquis nostrum contra prelecta v [[*torn off ½ cm.*; veniat]] penam sexcentarum unciarum auri componat de quibus medietas curie et altera medietas alteri parti solvatur, statutis predictis nichilominus firmis manentibus. Hanc cartam scripsi ego Jonathas notarius quia interfui. Actum apud Sanctam Mariam in Christo in territorio Remiani feliciter (notarial sign).

+ Nos Berardus Gentilis Dei et imperiali gratia comes Alesine, qui supra hec vera cognoscimus inter enim fuimus.

+ Signum manus Gualterii Panis et Vini, comestabuli militum domini comitis Berardi Gentilis Alesine.

+ Signum sancte crucis quod ego Simon de Sangro propria manu impressi.

+ EGO HENRICUS SIPONTI QUI SUPRA JUDEX.

+ EGO MAGISTER RAO JUDEX JURISQUE PROFESSOR.

Original, Archivio Storico Provinciale di Benevento, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 10, no. 8.

IV

1197, *June* 3, *indiction* 15, *ann. imp.* 7,[28] *Castro Garagnone*[29]

The imperial justiciars for Terra di Bari, Robert of Venusio and John of Fraxineto record that, acting on the instructions of the imperial chancellor, Conrad, Bishop of Hildesheim, they held an inquest, to establish the extent of the lands belonging to *castrum Guaranionis* in the time of King William, when it was held by Count Roger of Andria, and that subsequently they assigned the *castrum* and its lands to Disigio, Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Barletta.

V. *PBSR*, xxiv, 1956, pp. 102–3.

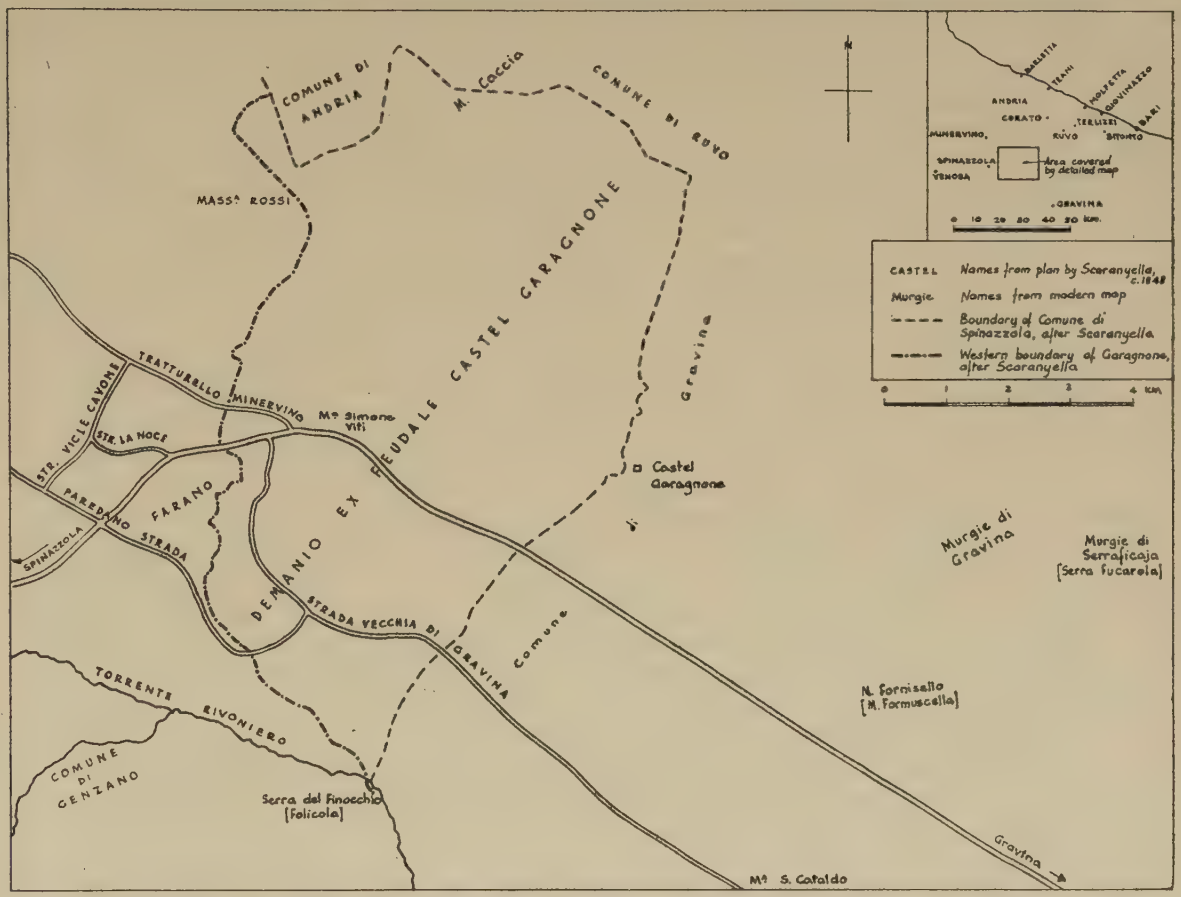
In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Anno ab incarnatione eiusdem millesimo centesimo nonagesimo septimo. Regnante domino nostro Henrico, Dei gratia invictissimo Romanorum imperatore et sempter Augusto, Rege Sicilie, anno septimo, mense Junii tertio eiusdem, indictione quintaedecimae (*sic*).

[27] As no oath is taken, the most probable sense is that the agreement will not be binding, so *nichil* and *non debeo* are the likely readings.

[28] The omission of Henry VI's regnal year for Sicily is unusual.

[29] The details for the boundary in 1197 come from the inquest recorded in document no. IV and those for 1848 have been taken from a plan, still in official use (scale 1 : 30,000), made for the Commune of Spinazzola by Domenico Scaranyella, perito demaniale. The boundary between the Communes of Spinazzola and Gravina, as shown on Scaranyella's plan, apparently divides the twelfth century fief into two approximately equal halves.

Nos Robertus de Venusio[30] et Joannes de Fraxineto[31] Terrae Bari imperiales justitiarii declaramus, quod recepimus litteras[a] ab Domino Conrado reverendissimo Yldemensi Episcopo[b] et imperialis aulae Cancellario[32] quatenus assignemus castrum



SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE CLOSE SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE WESTERN BOUNDARY OF THE LANDS OF CASTEL GARAGNONE IN 1197 AND C. 1848. (For the sources of this map see footnote 29, opposite.)

[30] Robert de Venusio's name can be traced in this form as royal justiciar for Terra di Bari in February of 1189 and 1192, v. E. M. Jamison, 'The Norman administration of Apulia and Capua,' *Papers of the British School at Rome*, VI, 1913, p. 346, and on 18 October 1196, v. *Codice diplomatico Brindisino*, ed. G. M. Monti, no. 33. The version of the document in the Biblioteca De Gemmis, however, gives the justiciar's name, on the three occasions on which it is mentioned, as *Robertus de Vicariis de Venusio*, and so does *Discorsi Postumi del signor Carlo de Lellis di alcune poche nobili famiglie, con l'annotazioni in esse e supplimento . . .* del Domenico Conforto, Napoli, 1701, p. 194, quoting 'una autentica e publica scrittura che si conserva nell'Archivio di San Giacomo de' PP Certosini dell'isola di Capri: *in Archivio Carthusiae S. Iacobi di Capro in Stipo V sign* 488, precisely the same source as Tutini appears to have been using v. *infra*, p. 182. As it is easier to suppose the deliberate insertion of the name de Vicariis, rather than that Tutini should have overlooked it on three occasions, or deliberately omitted it, his version of the document has been followed in the printed text and the variants noted below.

[31] John de Fraxineto can be traced as justiciar for Terra di Bari in December 1196, v. *Codice diplomatico normanno di Aversa*, ed. A. Gallo, in *Documenti per la storia dell'Italia meridionale* 2, Naples, 1926, no. 157, and again in March 1204, v. *Il chartularium del monastero di S. Benedetto di Conversano*, ed. D. Morea, 1, no. 149.

[a] literas.

[b] episcopi.

[32] *PBSR*, xxiv, 1956, p. 102.

Guaranionis[33] cum omnibus finibus et tenimentis suis fratri Disigio[a] magistro Sacrae Domus Hospitalis[b] Baroli,[34] sicut comes Rogerius Andriae[35] tempore Regis Willelmi[c] tenuerat. Continentia vero ipsarum litterarum[d] haec est: Conradus Dei gratia Yldemensis episcopus et imperialis aulae cancellarius, Roberto de Venusio[e] et Joanni de Fraxineto imperialibus justitiariis dilectis suis salutem et omne bonum. Mandamus vobis ex parte imperiali et nostra districte praecipientes, quatenus ambo vel alter vestrum dimissis omnibus negotiis, eatis cum fratre Disigio[f] magistro hospitalis Baroli ad Guaranionem et assignetis[g] ei castrum ipsum cum omnibus finibus et tenimentis illius, sicut Comes Rogerius ipsum tenuit tempore regis Willelmi[h] et hoc ita studiose faciatis, sicut gratiam nostram diligitis. Datum Brundusii vicesimo[i] sexto die mensis Maii quintaedecimae indictionis.[36]

Nos vero mandatum domini cancellarii diligenter adimplere volentes ad ipsum castrum Guaranionem ivimus et convocatis nobiscum Domino Leopardo[j] venerabili Minerbini Episcopo, Gaudio imperiali judice Baroli, Angotto judice Andri, Samaro judice Terlicii et aliis testibus subnotatis, quam plures idoneos homines vicinorum locorum venire fecimus ibi, qui diligenter de tenimentis ipsius castri ab nobis inquisiti de mandato nostro, super Sancta Dei Evangelia iuraverunt ut tenimenta et fines Guaranionis quemadmodum Comes Rogerius tenuerat nobis ostenderent et designarent, quorum nomina haec sunt:
Ubertus Spiniciolus quondam camerarius[k] comitatus Gravinae,[l] Andreas miles de Spinaciola, Umfridus miles de Spinaciola, Marcisius miles de Minerbino, Goffridus miles de Minerbino, Ioannes miles de Scagia[m] in testa de Minerbino, Henricus filius Riccardi olim senescalci domini Rogerii comitis de Andria, Zaram[n] miles olim camerarius comitatus Andri, Robertus de Manerio Andri, Petracca notarius de Iuvenacio, Mattheus[o] de[p] Iuvenacii, Amerucius de Mele [filius]

[33] The ruins of the *castrum* can be seen on a hill roughly half way between Spinazzola and Gravina. In Frederick II's statute for the repair of the royal castles it figures merely as *domus Guaranionis*, v. E. Sthamer, *Die Verwaltung der Kastelle im Könighreich Sizilien*, Leipiz, 1914, p. 105. A *deperditum* of Henry VI suggests that the emperor had first granted *castrum Guaranionis* to the hospital at Barletta in January of 1197, v. Clementi, *Calendar*, no. 96. By 1199, however, it appears to have been in the hands of Count Roger of Andria's heir, Robert de Calagio, who at this date also held his father's county of Andria; but *c.* 1209 it was once again handed over to the knights of St. John, this time by William de Say, Count of Gravina, v. Ms. Brancacciano I F 5, ff. 2, 18.

[a] Diligio.

[b] ospitalis.

[34] The priory of knights of St. John, Barletta, had been founded and built by April 1179, v. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1894, pp. CXXXI, 382.

[35] During William II's reign Count Roger had been master constable and master justiciar for Apulia and Terra di Lavoro and, on behalf of Henry VI and Constance, he led the resistance to King Tancred's acquisition of the Sicilian crown, v. Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, *Chronica*, a. 1190. The grant of his *castrum* to the knights of St. John could, therefore, have been made in the first place by King Tancred, for Henry's privileges do not mention those of his predecessors even when sanctioning the retention of a gift made by the usurper, v. Clementi, *Calendar*, nos. 55, 101. On the other hand, a privilege of Henry VI to these same knights, 1194 December 2 Palermo, shows that the hospital had suffered serious losses shortly after King William's death, and as Barletta certainly sided with King Tancred it seems probable that the knights had been consistently imperialists, v. Clementi, *Calendar*, no. 29.

[c] Vuillemus.

[d] licterarum.

[e] Robertus de Vicariis de Venusio.

[f] Diligio.

[g] assignatis.

[h] Vuillemis.

[i] vigesimo.

[36] Conrad was at this date based on Brindisi preparing for the expedition to the Holy Land, which set sail from Apulia at the end of August 1197, v. T. Toeche, *Heinrich VI*, (*Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1867), p. 461.

[j] Leopardo de venerabili.

[k] camere.

[l] Graviri.

[m] Scangia.

[n] Iaram.

[o] Matthaeus.

[p] de *omitted*.

Amerucii de Iuvenacio, Citoleus[a] Curati, Serus[b] de Molfetta et Vincentius frater eius, Costa miles de Rubo, Ambrosius filius magistri Petri de Rubo, Guillelmus Crispinus miles de Rubo, Bartholomeus[c] de[d] Dattilo habitator Rubi, Petrus Russus de Botonto, Maio de Nicolao de Pandilfo de Botonto, Jaconus Urso de Trano olim curatulus domini Tranensis archiepiscopi,[e] Riccardus filius Ursonis Brancatii de Guaranione,[f] Nicolaus Pantaleus de Guaranione,[g] Johannes filius eius, Nicolaus de Gregorio de Guaranione,[h] Maior filius Ursonis Brancatii de Guaranione,[i] cum quibus omnibus simul euntes super fines tenimentorum Guaranionis[j] et primo incipientes ab confinio Spinaciolae[k] per designationem et demonstrationem ipsorum iuratorum tenimenta ipsius Guaranionis praedicto fratri Disigio[l] pro parte hospitalis assignavimus per hos fines.

A[m] parte occidentis ab pede Montis de Lacu Russo per directum cuiusdam vallis qualiter descendit per speccham[37] Lapidem Antiquam usque ad Lapidem Fixum iuxta viam publicam, quae vadit ad ecclesiam Sancti Benedicti. Deinde descendit per mediam vallem sicut vadit aquae cursus, quae vallis dicitur Guillelmi Plazari de Spinaciola[n] prope fontem de Nuce. Et in antea per ipsam vallem usque ad Gruttas Folanias, quae sunt de tenimento Spinaciolae, et in antea per mediam vallem usque ad gruttas coopertas, quae sunt in tenimento Guaranionis et in antea per ipsam vallem usque ad gruttas altas quae sunt ipsius Guaranionis. Et in antea per mediam ipsam vallem, quae dicitur Sancti Viti procedendo usque ad locum ubi dicitur Pantones, ubi est quaedam via, quae venit a[o] Spinaciola,[p] finis est tenimentum ipsius Spinaciolae.[q] Deinde vero iuxta tenimentum Folicolae per mediam vallem, sicut vadit aquae cursus usque ad viam, quae dicitur Tu(*tear*)[r] de Maraldo et per mediam vallem sicut vadit aquae cursus, quae dicitur Merdarolus,[s] usque ad Stratam Gravinae ubi dicitur Rovenerius. Et item sicut vadit ipsa strata et regirat[t] versus orientem usque ad quemdam vallonem ad quem descendit via cipriae. Et ab ipso vallone, remanente praedicta via in parte dextera, per mediam vallem usque ad viam, quae vadit ad fontem de Appio, finis est tenimentum Montis Folicolae. Deinde iuxta tenimentum Gravinae qualiter vadit ipsa via revoluendo versus septentrionem[u] usque ad ipsum fontem. Et in antea qualiter vadit quaedam via per directum versus septentrionem,[v] et relicta eadem via in parte dextera qualiter descendit vallo per pedem venearum Sancti Cataldi usque ad aliud[w] vallonem, qui dicitur Caprum. Et in antea ab ipso Capro usque ad aliud brachium ipsius Capri regirando versus occidentem. Et in antea revoluendo versus septentrionem[x] per vallonem Fontis Sanctae Mariae[y] usque ad ipsum fontem, et ab ipso fonte ascendit per directum per viam inter medium Montis Salicati et Montis Formuscellae. Et

[a] Citeolus.
[b] Ierus.
[c] Bartholomaeus.
[d] da.
[e] *additional word* Ciscopi.
[f] Guarranione.
[g] Guarranione.
[h] Guarranione.
[i] Guarranione.
[j] Guarranionis.
[k] Spinacioli.
[l] Diligio.
[m] ab.
[37] ?Specchio d' acqua, 'pond.'
[n] Spinaciolo.
[o] ab.
[p] Spinaciolo.
[q] Spinaciolii.
[r] Turris.
[s] Mardarolus.
[t] regiret.
[u] settentrione.
[v] settentrione.
[w] alium.
[x] settentrionem.
[y] fontis S.M.

in antea ascendendo per muricem finis est tenimentum Gravinae, et in antea per ipsum muricem ascendendo ferit ad stratellam et vadit per ipsam stratellam ad Serram Fucarolam. Et ab ipsa Serra Fucarola vadit per directum ad gravam,[38] quae dicitur de Corbo, deinde vero vadit ad modium,[39] quod est inter viam, quae vadit Rubum et quae vadit Cauratum. Et ferit ad Speccham Veterem et ascendit ad serrones,[40] sicut est aquae cursus serronum versus Guaranionem[a] et deinde vadit per ipsos serrones usque[b] ad gurgonem, qui dictur de Persico et ferit ad Montem Venationis ab acqua pendenti[41] versus Guaranionem. Et deinde[c] vadit ad Lacum Tortum et ab ipso lacu sicut ascendit et reditur ad primum finem ubi dicitur Lacus Russus iuxta terras ecclesiae Sancti Angeli de Lamalonga, finis est tenimentum Terlicii et Rubi et Andriae.

Hoc praeterea[d] adnotato, quod de praedictis juratis Umfridus[e] de Spinazola, Henricus filius Richardi[f] olim senescalus,[g] Zaram miles, Marcisius miles, Guillelmus Crispinus miles, Ambrosius filius Petri, Bartholomaeus de Dattulo, Cirusleo de Caurato, Petracca[h] notarius cum praenominatis hominibus Guaranionis in toto tenimento per praescriptos fines designando simul convenerunt, videlicet quod Comes Rogerius Andriae praedictum castrum Guaranionis cum tenimentis praesignatis tenuit tempore regis Willelmi. Ubertus vero et Andreas de Spinaciola, Goffridus miles et Joannes Scagia[i] in testa de Minerbino convenerunt et idem dixerunt ab primo fine usque ad tenimentum Gravinae. Costa de Rubo, Mattheus[j] de Iuvenacio, Sere et Vincentius frater eius de Molficta[k] dixerunt[l] quod tempore regis Willelmi laboraverunt saepius in terris illis, quae sunt iuxta tenimentum Montis Folicolae, ab loco ubi dicitur Rubinerius versus Guaranionem et respondebant[m] inde tam de terraticis quam de affidaturis[n] baiulis comitis Rogerii de ipso Guaranione. Idem dixerunt Urso curatulus[o] olim domini Samari Tranensis archiepiscopi, qui terras ipsas ab Rubinerio versus Guaranionem pro parte ipsius Tranensis archiepiscopus per litteras[p] suas nobis significavit, quod tempore regis Willelmi laboravit in praedictis[q] terris ab Rubinerio versus Guaranionem et respondebat inde, tam de terraticis quam de affidaturis,[r] comiti Rogerio de Andria. Petrus Russellus de Botonto et Maio de Botanto dixerunt,[s] quod ab fonte de Appio qualiter praesignatum est, tenimentum Guaranionis usque inter Montem Salicatum et Montem Formosellum tempore regis Willelmi comes Rogerius Andriae ipsum tenuit. Praedictus iudex Samar dixit, quod de omnibus terris, quas ecclesia Sanctae Mariat[t] de Suberito pluribus annis laboravit non longe ab tenimentis Sancti Cataldi versus Guaranionem respondebat, tam de terraticis quam de affidaturis comiti Rogerio de Andria, quod dicebat se scire eo[u] quod est advocatus ipsius ecclesiae[v] et frequenter cum abbatissis et cum curatulis ipsius ecclesiae illuc venerat.

[38] A deep ditch, which after rain acts as a water course; the word is still in use locally.
[39] Apparently correct *modus*, a boundary mark.
[40] The ridges of a *murgia*, i.e. a down.
[a] Guaranianum.
[41] versant.
[b] usque *omitted*.
[c] deinde *omitted*.
[d] per primo annotato.
[e] Unfridus.
[f] Riccardi.
[g] senescallus.
[h] Petrucca.
[i] Scagias.
[j] Matthaeus.
[k] Molfitta.
[l] dicunt.
[m] respondebat.
[n] affidatis.
[o] curatolus.
[p] literas.
[q] predittis.
[r] affidatensis.
[s] dicunt.
[t] ecclesia S.M.
[u] et.
[v] *Nine words omitted here.*

Quibus omnibus sic peractis ipsum castrum Guaranionis cum praedesignatis tenimentis et finibus suis praedicto[a] magistro Disigio[b] recipienti pro parte ipsius hospitalis iuxta mandatum domini cancellarii assignavimus. Unde ad futuri[c] temporis memoriam hoc presens scriptum per manus Raonis notarii nostri ad petitionem ipsius magistri Disigii[d] scribi praecepimus, quod scripsi ego dictus Rao notarius de mandato praedictorum justiciariorum,[e] et quia interfui.

Acta sunt haec in ipso castro Guaranionis. Anno mense et indictione praetitulatis.

Ego Robertus[f] de Venusio imperialis justiciarius[g] subscripsi.[h]

Signum propriae manus domini Joannis de Fraxineto Terae Bari imperialis justiciarius[i] qui supra.

Gaudius filius Bartolomei[j] imperialis judex.

Angottus qui supra Andrensium judex imperialis.

Me Doctor juste defendis Samare iudex.[42]

Signum manus Joannis militis Scagia in testa[k] de Minerbino qui supra.

Signum manus Goffridi militis et judicis Minerbini filii Vincentii qui supra.

Signum manus Marcisii militis de Minerbino qui supra.

Signum manus Henrici filii Riccardi de Andria quondam senescalesci[l] domini Rogerii comitis qui supra.

Signum manus Zaram militis quondam camerarii comitis Rogerii de Andria qui supra.

Est mihi Robertus testis super omnia certus subscripsi.[m]

Signum propriae manus domini Leopardi Minerbini episcopi.

Signum manus Petri Russelli filii Bartholomeae de Poliando qui supra.

Signum manus Maioris filii Joannis de Botonto qui supra.

Signum manus Guillelmi militis filii Crispini qui supra.

Signum manus Umfridi[n] militis de Spinaciola qui supra.

Signum manus[o] Costae militis de Rubo filii Nicolai de Costa qui supra.

Signum manus Bartholomaei de Dattulo qui supra.

Signum manus Ambrosii filii Petri qui supra.

Signum manus Citileonis de Aurito[p] qui supra.

Seris stat pro his subscripsi.

Ego Petracca testis sum subscripsi.[q]

Ameruzius subscripsi.

Signum manus Matthaei filii Petracii Juvenacii qui supra.

Ego Vincentius Alexandri filius subscripsi.[r]

Signum manus Uberti de Spinaciola olim camerarius Gravinae qui supra.

Signum manus Andreae Spinaciolae filii Landi qui supra.

[a] preditto.
[b] Diligio.
[c] futurum.
[d] Diligio.
[e] suprascriptorum justitiariorum.
[f] Robertus de Vicariis de Venusio.
[g] iustitiarius.
[h] subscripsi *omitted.*
[i] justitiarius.
[j] Bartholomaei.
[42] A second example of the use of this formula by Samar, when witnessing, can be found in *Codice diplomatico Barese*, iii (Bari, 1899 : *Le pergamene della cattedrale di Terlizzi*, ed. F. Carabellese), p. 129.
[k] intesa.
[l] senescali.
[m] subscripsi *omitted.*
[n] Unfridi.
[o] de Costa.
[p] Aurea.
[q] subscripsi *omitted.*
[r] subscripsi *omitted.*

Signum manus Richardi filii Ursonis Brancatii de Guaranione qui supra.
Sigum manus Nicolai de Pantaleone de Guaranione qui supra.
Signum manus Joannis filii[a] Nicolai de Pantaleone qui supra.
Signum manus Nicolai filii[b] Gregorii de Guaranione qui supra.
Signum manus Maioris filii Ursonis Brancatii de Guaranione qui supra.

A. Copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, in Ms. Brancacciano IV C 14, Napoli raccolta di varie scritture cavate da varii registri, p. 1, catalogued as being in Tutini's (1600–1670) hand. No details of the document from which the copy was made are given here, but Ms. Brancacciano I F 5, the section Notamentum ex Archivio Sancti Jacobi de Capro Cartusiensis Ordinis, p. 25, again in Tutini's hand, quotes the original from *Archivio Caprensi* n. 488, Ltra V.

B. A transcript made by Miss E. M. Jamison, from a copy in the Bibloteca De Gemmis, Terlizzi, in a large quarto parchment volume bound in tooled leather, 'Raccolta d'investiture, privilegii e scritture per la quali appare l'acquisto del Castello di Monteforte, e suoi casali antichi, da Giacomo primo de Vicariis e la continuatione del possesso di essi tenuto da suoi discendenti sino all' hodierno Barone diessi domino Mutio de Vicariis; unite da domino Pietro de Vicariis zio del nominato domino Mutio in questo anno 1698. Si nel Regio Archivio e Patrimonio come in altre parti,' made in Naples, on 1 January, 1701, by the notary Honuphrius Montefusco de Neapolis from a copy made, on the 5 February 1688, by the notary Nicolaus Ambrosius Baccha de Terra Annacapra, by permission of the Rev. D. Petrus Paulus Criseoleus of the monastery of St. James, Capri, from the original then *in archivio venerabilis Cartusiae Sancti Iacobi de Capro in stipo Lit. V signato* no. 488.

D. Clementi

[a] filius. [b] filius.

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a.

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a.

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c, d. Woburn Abbey (A19)

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Paestan Vases

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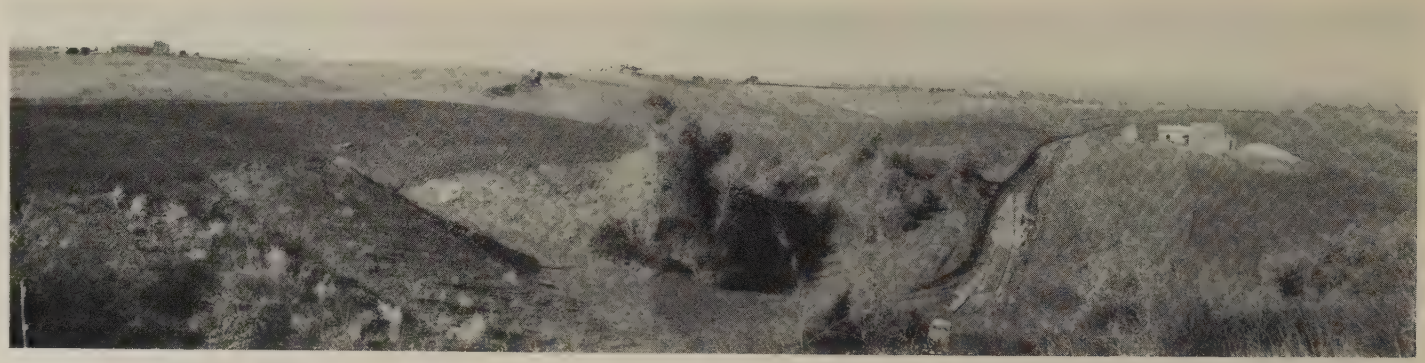
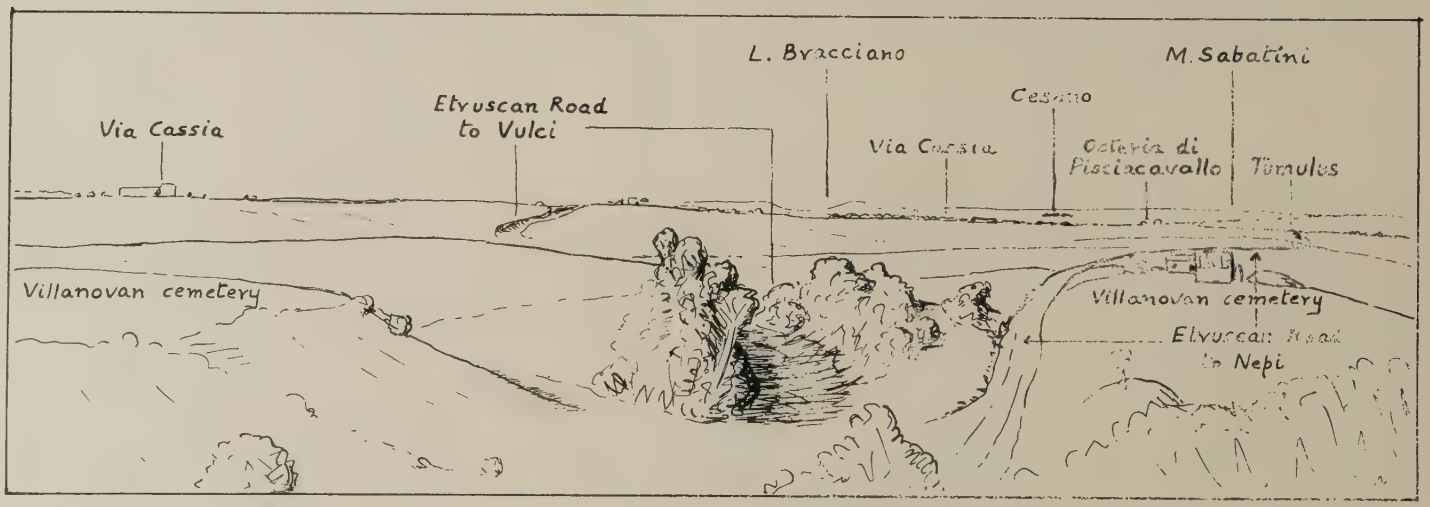
VEII, THE NORTH-WEST GATE (CF. FIG. 1, P. 39)



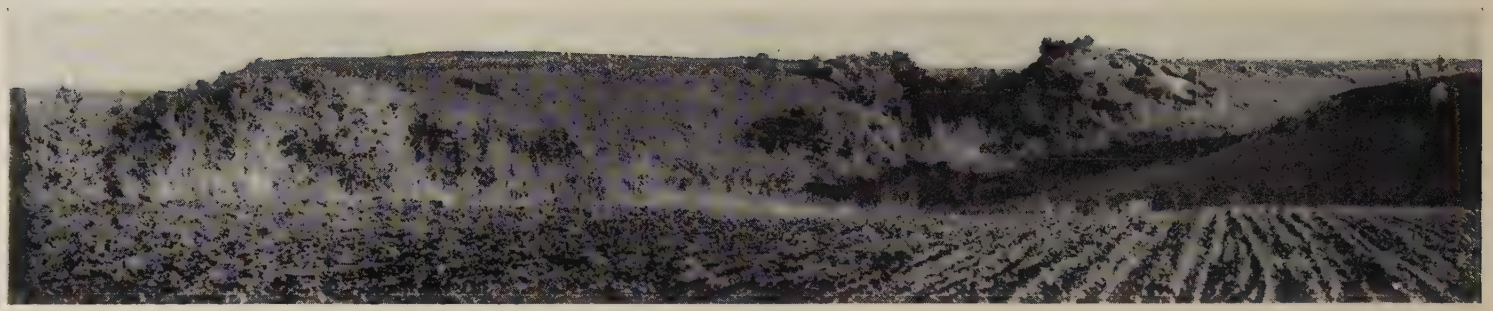
a. Veii, View from the North-West Gate (see Drawing Below)

(*J. B. W. P.*)



b. The Same

PLATE IX

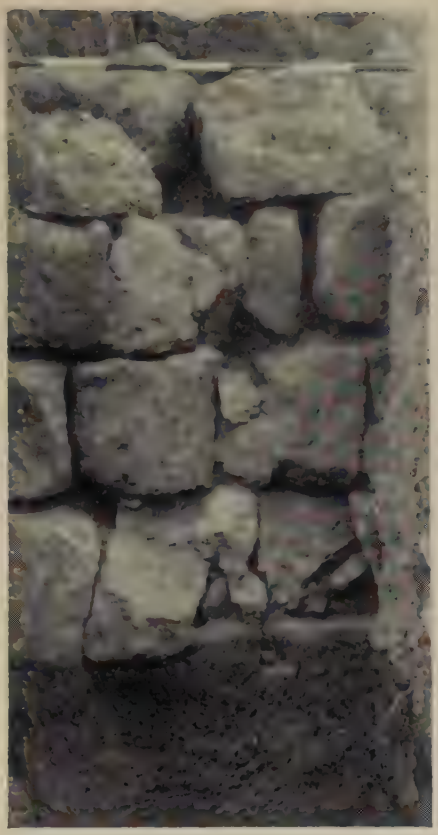


(*J. B. W. P.*)

a. Veii, North-West Gate and Ramparts. Just to the Right of the Gate the 1957 Excavations. The Figures in the Right-hand Margin Mark the Site of One of the Villanovan Cemeteries

(*M. H. B.*)

b. Veii, Ancient Roads Outside the North-west Gate



(*J. B. W. P.*)

a. Front of Wall in Trench V1

(*M. H. B.*)

b. As *a*, Showing Filled *Cuniculus*

(*M. H. B.*)

c. Front of Wall in Trenches V2, V3, Showing (*left*) Subsidence over Filled *Cuniculi*

(*M. H. B.*)

a. V2, Gap in Wall During Excavation

(*M. H. B.*)

b. The Same, Completed

(*M. H. B.*)

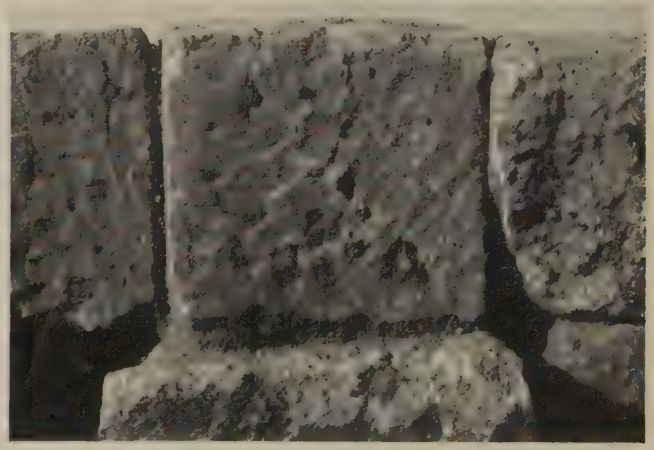
c. East End of V1, Looking East

(*J. B. W. P.*)

d. The Same, Looking West

a. Main Excavation, from the South-east

b. Outer Face of the Wall, Detail



c. Inner Face of the Wall, Detail

Veii, 1958

(*Photos, J. B. W. P.*)

(*M. H. B.*)

VEII, 1958: MAIN EXCAVATION FROM THE NORTH. THE KEY OF UNEXCAVATED EARTH AT RIGHT-ANGLES TO THE WALL IS ALL THAT SURVIVES OF THE RAMPART

M. H. B

Veii, 1953: Front of the Main Excavation. In the Foreground, Post-holes and Gullies from the Two Earliest Phases (cf. Pl. XVIII, *a*); the Figure marks the site of a recent Lime-kiln

(*M. H. B.*)

VEII, 1958. BACK OF THE MAIN EXCAVATION. THE CENTRAL LINE OF MASONRY IS THE LAST WALL OF THE STONE BUILDING, FOLLOWING THE LINE OF THE POST-HOLES AND GULLIES OF THE CORRESPONDING WALL OF THE RECTANGULAR TIMBER BUILDING

a. Veii, 1958: North-West Angle of the Main Excavation, During Clearance. The Level Exposed is that of the Stone Building

b. The Same, After Final Clearance

(*Photos*: *M. H. B.*)

(*M. H. B.*)

a. Outer West Wall of Rectangular Timber Building

(*M. H. B.*)

b. Successive Doorways of Timber and of Stone Buildings

(*J. B. W. P.*)

c. Inner (*beyond*) and Outer Walls of Stone Building

(*J. B. W. P.*)

Veii, 1958

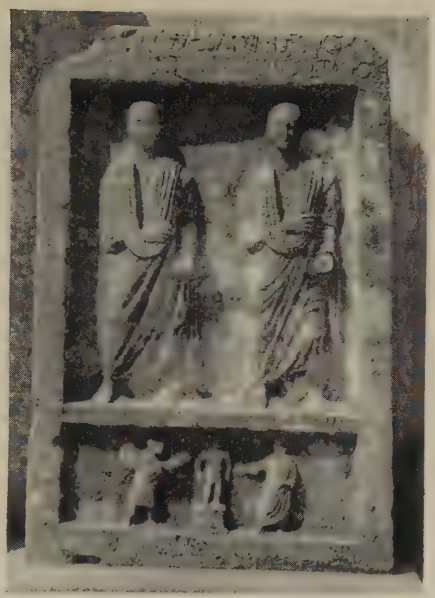
a (*above*). Section BB′ (cf. Fig. 11, p. 75)

b (*right*). Looking East Along Trenches V6, V8, V15, Showing (*foreground*) Door of Stone Building and (*beyond*) Rough Transverse Containing Walls of Rampart

(*M. H. B.*)

(*M. H. B.*)

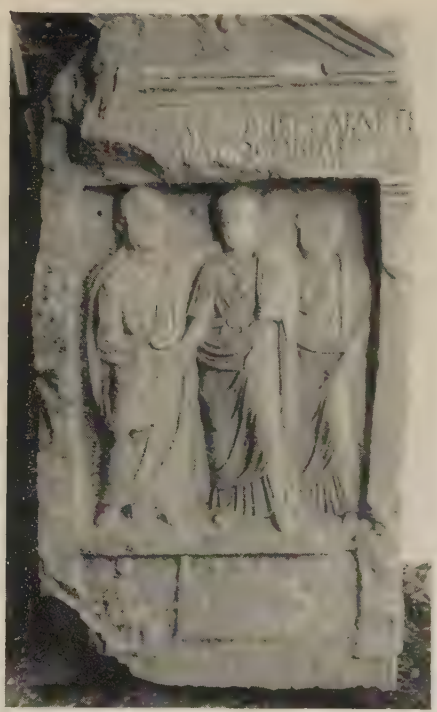
Veii, 1958: Post holes and Gullies in Trenches V15 and 16/19 (cf. Fig. 10, p. 69)



a. Publilius Satyr (*CIL X*, 8222)

b. L. Caesius Q.F. (*CIL X*, 4053)

c. Dexsonia (*CIL X*, 4110)



d. Egnatia Helena (*Not. Scav.* 1943, 141)

Campanian Stelae (pp. 95-100)

(*Photos*: *M. W. F.*)

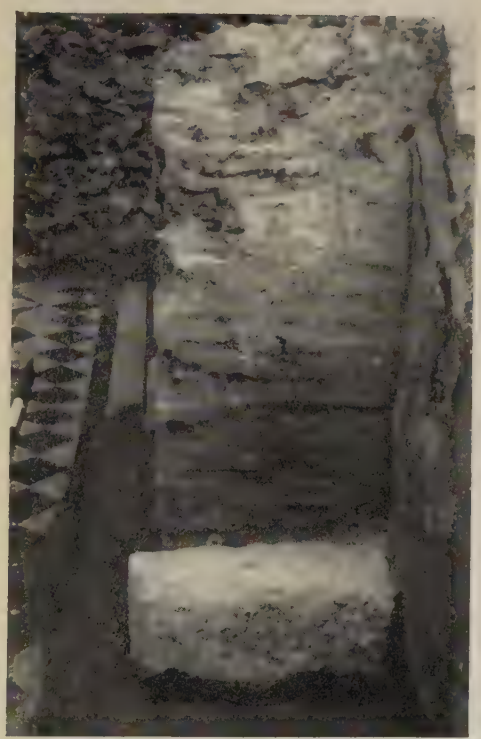
a. The Site from the South-West

b. Room I from the East

Roman Building on the Via Cassia (pp. 131-155)

(*Photos*: *M. B. H.*)

a. South Corner and "Buttress"



"Buttress" from the North-West

c. "Buttress," East Corner

Roman Building on the Via Cassia. Room 1

(*Photos*: *M. H. B.*)

(*J. B. W. P.*)

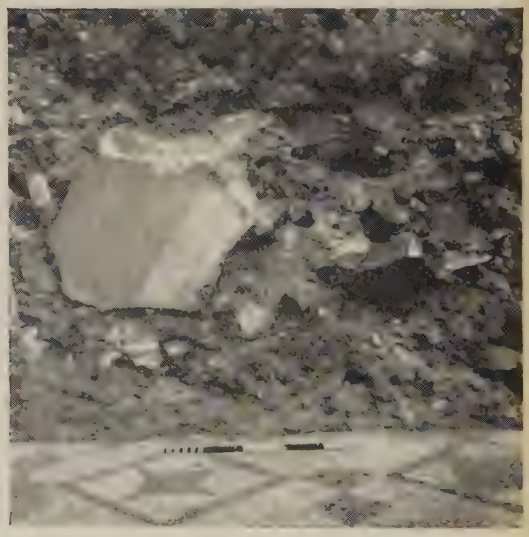
a. Detail of Mosaic

(*J. B. W. P.*)

b. Detail of Mosaic

(*M. H. B.*)

c. Mosaic Against North-East Wall



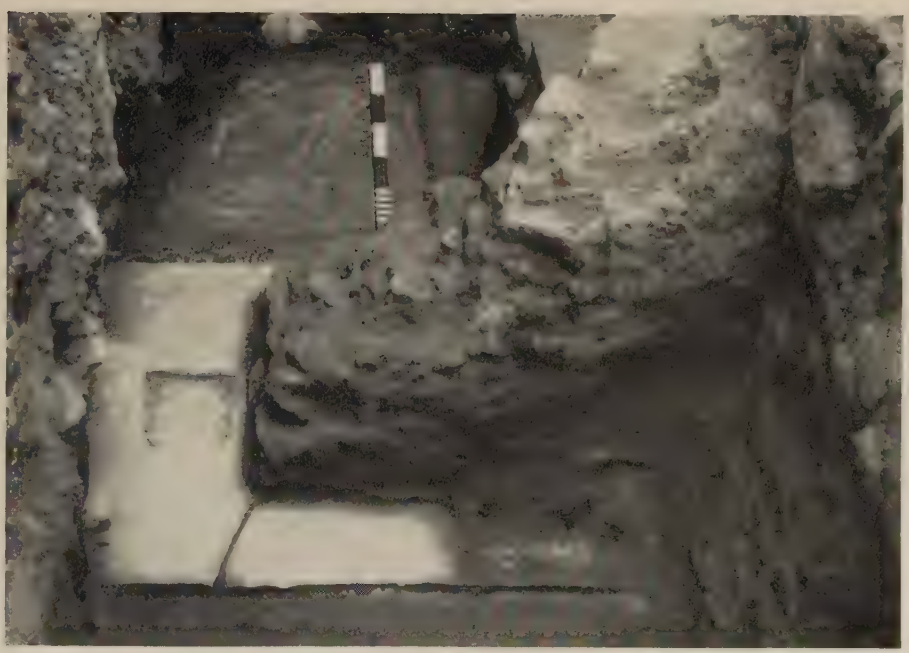
(*M. H. B.*)

d. Fallen Plaster in Section (cf. Section BB')

Roman Building on the Via Cassia, Room 1

a. Looking Towards Apse

b. Detail of Apse



c. Doorsill from Room 3

Roman Building on the Via Cassia, Room 2

(*Photos*: *J. B. W. P.*

a. Doorway between Rooms 3 and 4

b. Outer Face of Outer South-West Wall

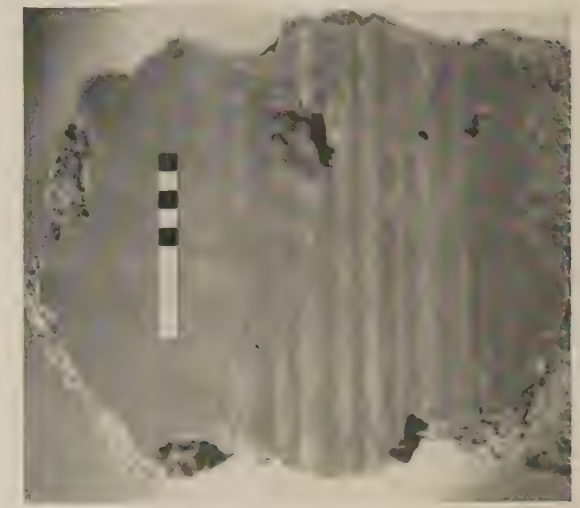
c. Detail of Masonry

d. Detail of Masonry, showing *Tufelli* of Doorway

Roman Building on the Via Cassia

(*Photos*: *J. B. W. P.*)

a. Fragmentary Inscription (cf. Fig. 8)



b. Painted Plaster: Part of a Fluted Column (p. 148)

c. Fragments of Marble Figure (cf. Fig. 7). Arrows mark Points of Attachment

Roman Building on the Via Cassia

Photos M. H. B.

PLATE XXVII

a. Terracotta Fragments (p. 148)

b. Marble Fragments (p. 145, nos. 7, 8)

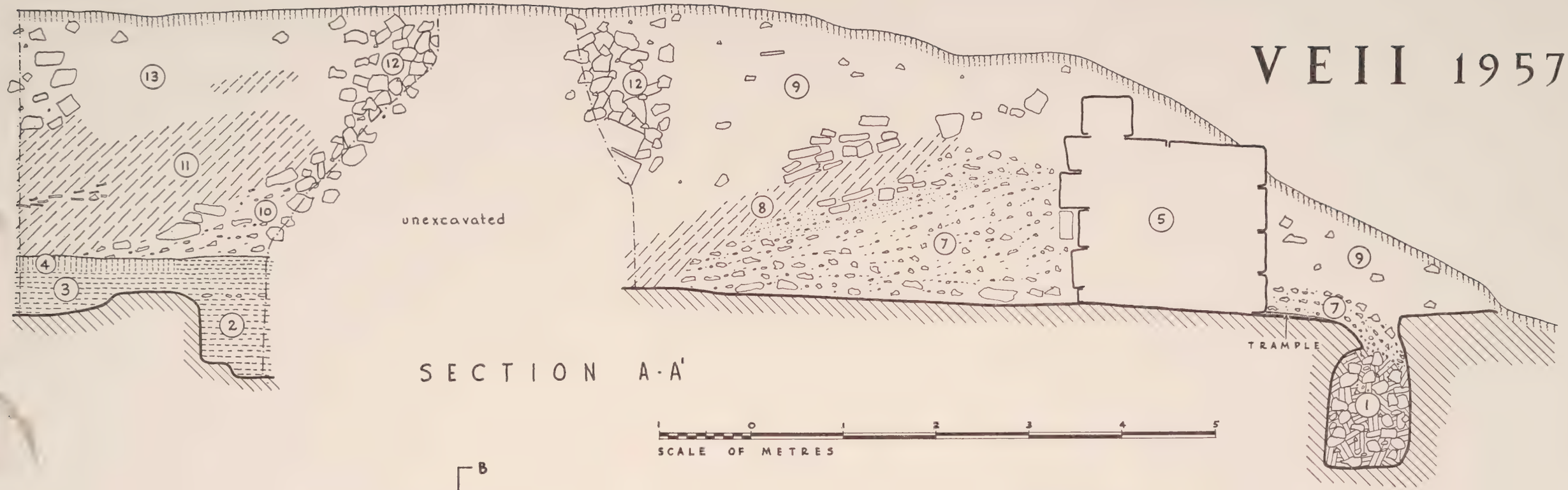
c. Small Marble Bust (p. 143, nos. 1, 2)

Roman Building on the Via Cassia

(*Photos*: *M. H. B.*)

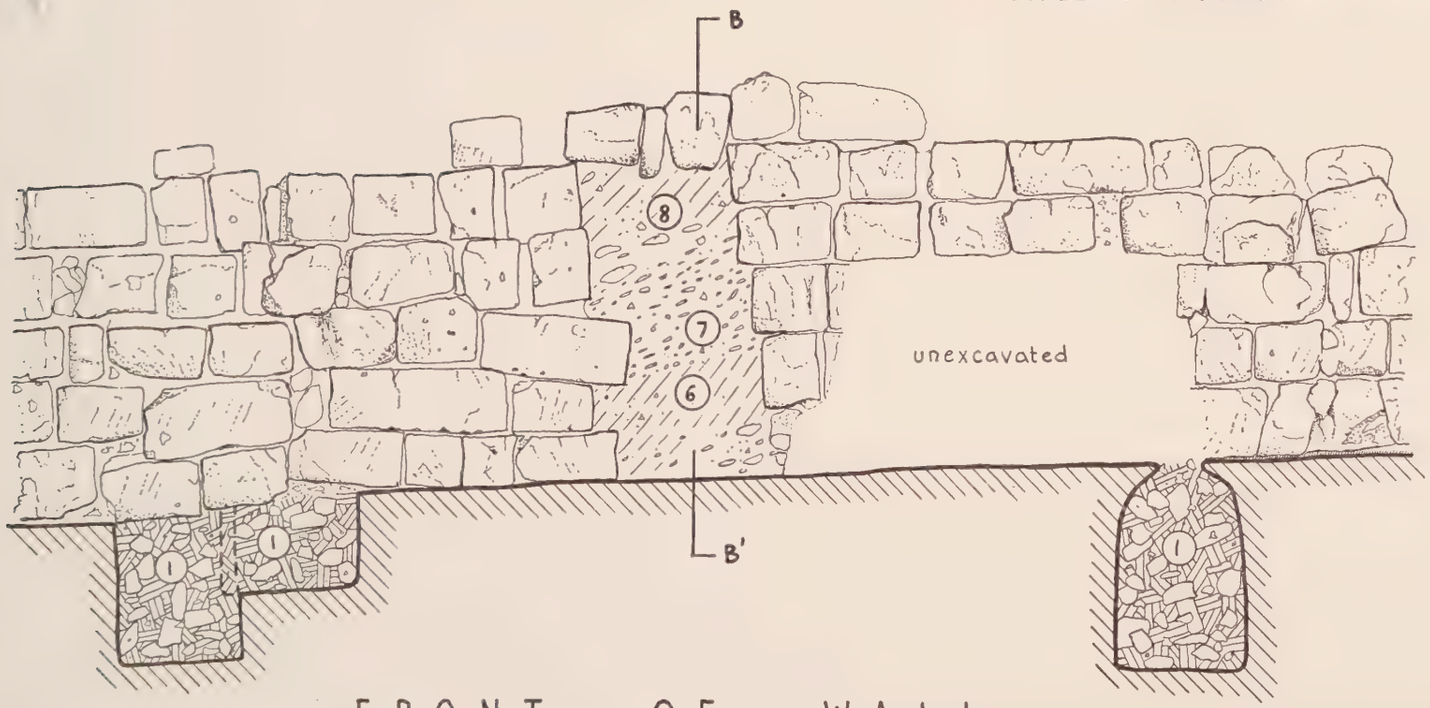
PLATE XXVIII

V E II 1957



SECTION A-A'

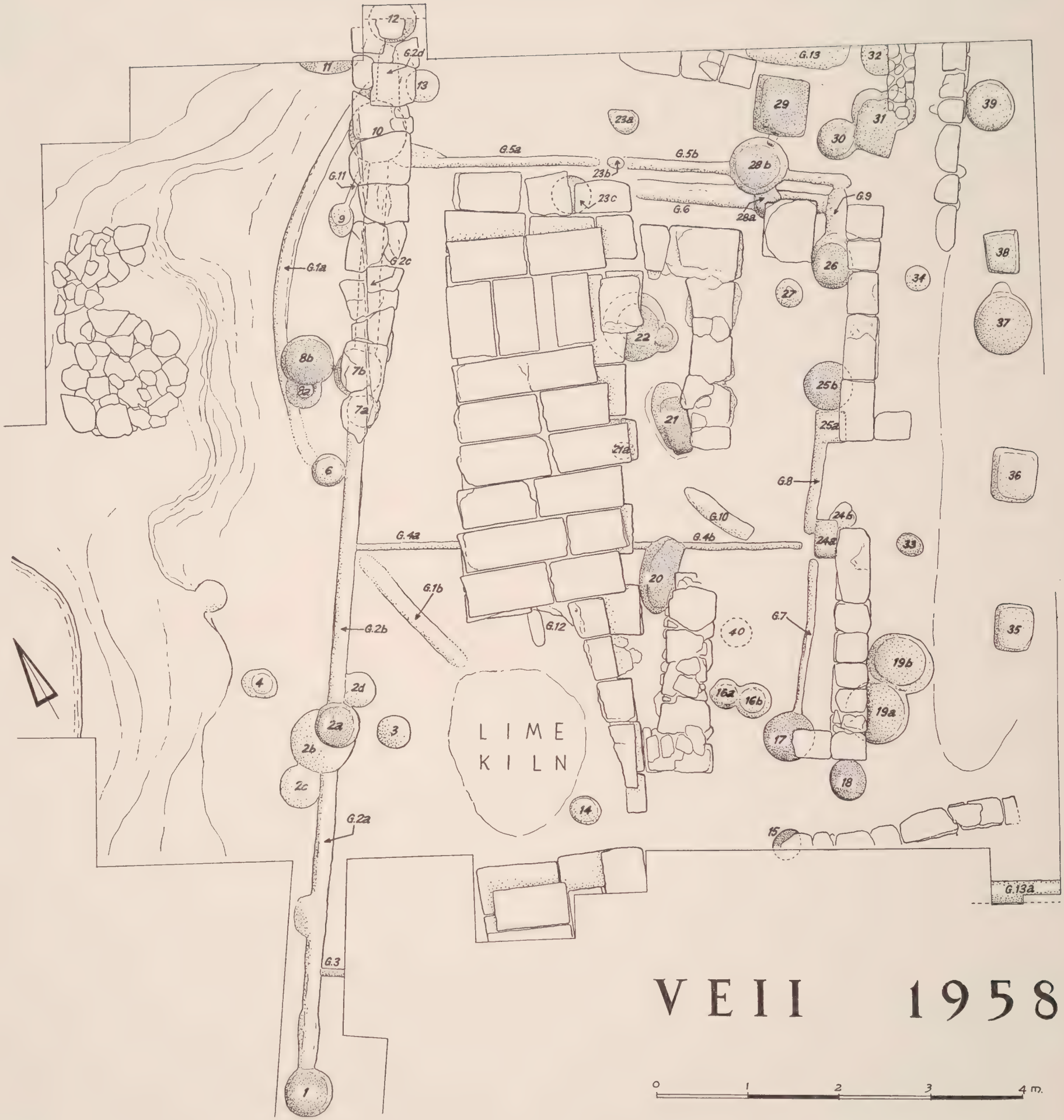
SCALE OF METRES 1 0 1 2 3 4 5



FRONT OF WALL

SECTION B-B'

(For key, see pp. 73–74)



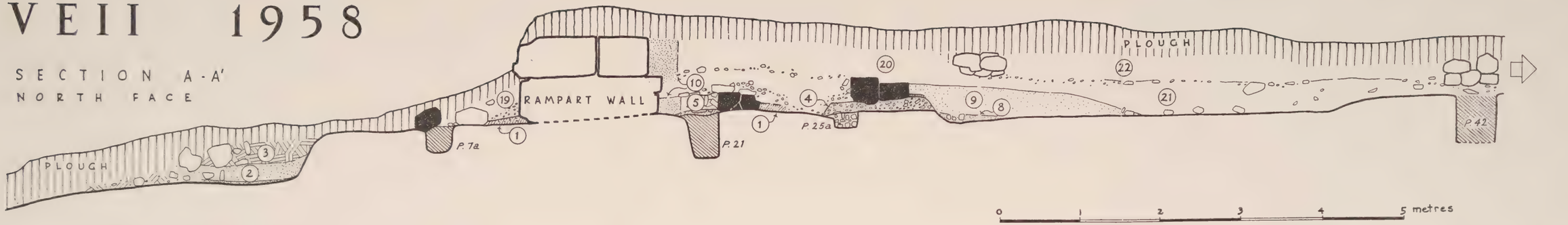
VEII 1958

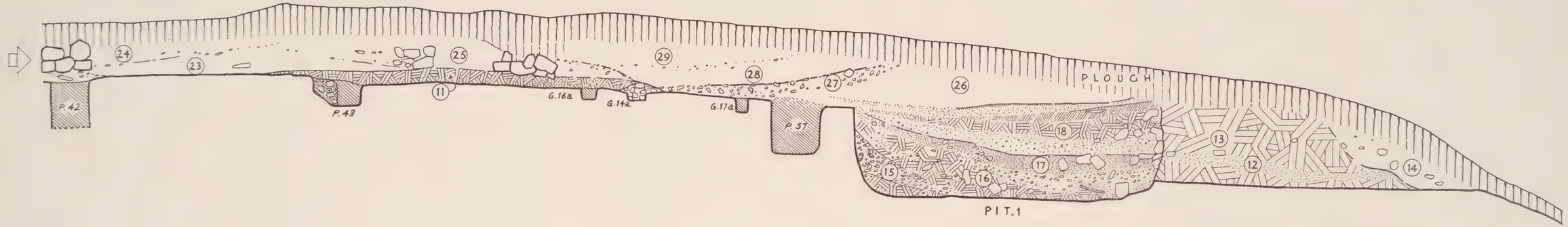
PLATE XXX

For details of the individual Post-holes and Gullies, see pp. 55–58, 60–61, 65

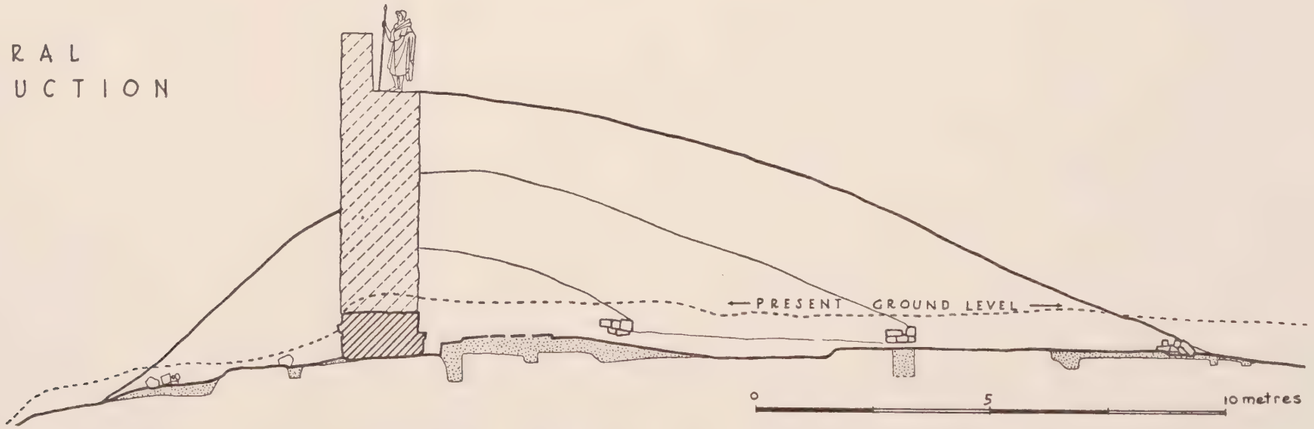
VEII 1958

SECTION A-A'
NORTH FACE





CONJECTURAL
RECONSTRUCTION



(For key, see pp. 74–76)